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Turning Dreams into Realities

The "Hitachi Promise of Tomorrow" scholarship program encourages student athletes to take the lessons learned on the football field today and teach children in the classrooms tomorrow.

Encouraging Student Athletes to Become Teachers

During his three years as nose guard on Louisiana State University's football team, John Mawae came to know the thrill of victory and the agony of defeat. But nothing moved him more than working with disabled children in a Special Olympics held at LSU. "Seeing those kids realize their dreams against all odds really got to me," Mawae recalls. "I knew then what I wanted to do: help kids like them realize their dreams."

Mawae will get that chance, thanks in part to the "Hitachi Promise of Tomorrow" scholarship program created by the College Football Association (CFA) and sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd. Started last academic year, the program awards $335,000 in scholarships at the 67 CFA member universities. At each university, a $5,000 scholarship is awarded to an outstanding senior or graduate student who intends to become a teacher and has participated in the school's football program as a player, trainer, or manager. Mawae, a 1992 scholarship recipient, intends to use his grant to pursue a career teaching kids with special needs.

"Teaching plays an important but undervalued role in society," says Charles M. Neinas, the CFA's executive director. "We'd like to encourage more student athletes to pursue this field, because we think that what they learn on the football field helps to make them effective teachers in the classroom."

Nicole Hagner, a recent University of Pittsburgh graduate, agrees. "Athletics teaches you that it's possible to turn the right dream into a reality through hard work, discipline and teamwork. I'd like to bring that lesson to the classroom," she says. Hagner, who served as a student trainer on Pitt's football team, plans to use her grant to become certified as a high school biology teacher.

Nicole Hagner, University of Pittsburgh graduate and 1992 scholarship recipient.

As college football fans and parents of school-age children, we are proud to be a part of the "Hitachi Promise of Tomorrow" scholarship program. We hope that it helps more student athletes like John and Nicole to realize their dreams of becoming teachers.

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LETTERS

Astonishingly Old

In his *Astonishing Hypothesis* [reviewed by Howard Van Till, June 27], Sir Francis Crick informs the world of his discovery that we have no "soul" and that our feelings and thoughts "are in fact no more than the behavior of a vast assembly of nerve cells and their associated molecules."

That this idea should strike him as a revelation indicates only that for all his scientific brilliance, Sir Francis is poorly versed in intellectual history. For this notion is over three hundred years old, having been first intimated by John Locke in his *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690), which denied the existence of "innate ideas" and therefore anything resembling a soul as an entity separate from the body. The notion was taken over and pushed to its logical extremes by French eighteenth-century materialists. Among them was la Mettrie, the author of *L'homme-machine* (1748), and Baron d'Holbach, who in *Système de la nature* (1770) argued that there was no soul apart from the nervous substance. In other words, far from being an "astonishing hypothesis," the idea is old hat.

It has also proved extremely pernicious. Popularized in Russia by the mid-nineteenth-century radical publicist Nikolai Chernyshevsky, it exerted profound influence on the future Bolsheviks, who concluded that since man was nothing more than material substance, he could be molded and remade in any desired shape. It provided the philosophical justification for the Stalinist and Maoist attempts to create "new men." Seventy years of Communist experience, ending in utter failure, proved beyond a doubt that human beings are much more than mere matter.

Richard Pipes
Baird Professor of History
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

Anti-Communist Journalism

I've just read Professor Hollander's "Soviet Terror, American Amnesia" [May 2]. As always, I find what he writes on anti-anti-Communism enormously valuable.

I can vouch that very few articles have been written about the Gulag. I was the first journalist to get into Perm 35. I got there in December 1988 and wrote several articles. Those articles focused attention on Perm 35 and were the reason *60 Minutes* (whose 1989 piece Mr. Hollander mentions) and others went there subsequently.

I had already written many columns about the Gulag and Perm 35, pointing out that Gorbachev had been in power some years but the camps still held political prisoners. The prosecutor general of the Soviet Union was disturbed enough by my columns to write letters of denunciation to the *New York Times*, which of course we printed.

I cannot say exactly why I was finally permitted to go. I believe that the prosecutor general thought the camp would be evacuated of political prisoners by the time I arrived in Moscow.

On the day I showed up at the prosecutor's office, however, they had changed their minds. The then-editor of the *Moscow Times* was in the room; he made a furious fuss and called somebody in Moscow, and they changed their minds back again, allowing me to go.

Before I left his office to go to Perm, the prosecutor said I should be a happy man. When I asked why, he said because the columns I had written had already resulted in some political prisoners I named being freed earlier than they would have been.

That meant more to me than any prize or honor I have ever received.

A. M. Rosenthal
The New York Times
New York, N.Y.

PC Execution

Mr. O'Sullivan's column on "gender quotas in sentencing" [May 30] could have made an even stronger argument by citing the incredible disparity in the application of the death penalty.

According to the Department of Justice's Uniform Crime Reports, women commit about 10 per cent of the homicides in this country but they rarely get sentenced to death and are even more rarely actually executed. The 1994 edition of *Death Row* (Glen Hare Publications) lists 2,796 inmates awaiting execution, of whom only 42 are women, or 1.5 per cent.

Moreover, only 33 of the approximately 4,050 persons executed since 1930 have been women and just 1 of the approximately 245 executed since 1977. That, of course, is less than 1 per cent in each case.

Yes, we very definitely need gender quotas. The sooner the better.

John G. Leyden
Davidsonville, Md.

The Young Woman and the Sea

Taki's "Love Boats" [Feb. 21] delighted me, and I remembered my first experience of an ocean liner.

In 1936 I crossed on the *Ile de France* with my parents to attend the Couvent de Nôtre Dame de Sion in Biarritz and Paris. The ship was graceful and gleaming Art Deco, the stewards wore white gloves, and champagne and celery were prescribed for seasickness.

I was 16 and impressionable and romantic and excited about life. My parents must have realized this—else, why the French convent?

The dining salon was a large, mirrored room, which one entered by descending a long, curved staircase. The second night out my parents had gone in to dinner and I was late joining them. I wore my first long dress, of copper-colored taffeta and modest but elegant cut, and no jewelry except topaz earrings. My slippers were copper kid to match.

As I reached the bottom of the staircase several men from different tables rose and bowed to me. My sense of womanhood, my pleasure in champagne, and my love of ocean liners were woven together from that moment.

Helen T. Lackey
Bozeman, Mont.

Free-Market Burger

"For the Record" [June 13] states: "Burger King has turned down politically correct request of Berkeley, Calif., franchisee for vegetarian burger. . . ."

I hope that as a bastion of free-market supporters, *NR* approves of and supports the right of an independent businessman to set his menu and take the risk of customer rejection.

A franchisee, to be sure, is not a true "independent businessman" and I do not question Burger King's right to refuse the request. I question the wisdom of that refusal—given the increasing awareness of the need to expand the sad choices offered by junk-food chains—and *NR*'s supporting it.

Thomas Caloz
Dumont, N.J.

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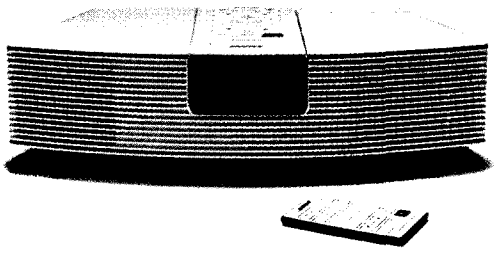

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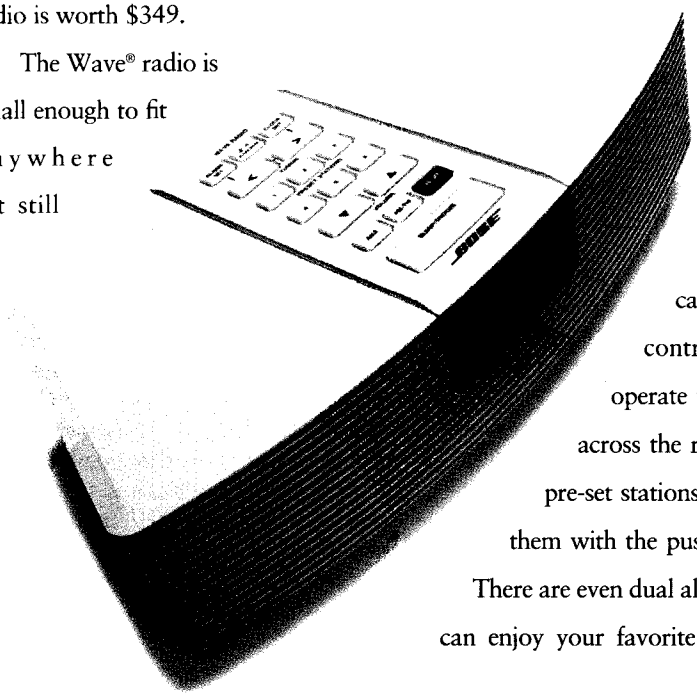

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FROM THE EDITOR

. . . and When Did You Know It?

■ Paul Hollander noted in a recent *NR* that the American media had shown almost no interest in the mass graves of Communism's victims, some containing as many as 200,000 corpses, discovered in recent years in the former Soviet Union.

His point was further confirmed last week when the (British) Independent Television News, shown in New York on Channel 21 and a useful contrast to the official networks here, reported the discovery of a mass grave in Vilnius, containing the corpses of Lithuanian dissidents murdered by the KGB in the period 1946-49. One week later this horror had still not been reported by the American media.

In his article, Professor Hollander had speculated that this reluctance to examine the Soviet holocaust had at least one ideological root: namely, that the media, a stronghold of liberalism, were repressing a guilty conscience about crimes that so many prominent liberals had excused and even endorsed over fifty years.

Support for this theory comes from an unusual source. The Summer issue of *Dissent*, the socialist quarterly, contains a muscular polemic by Professor Eugene Genovese answering what he calls The Question: "What did you know, and when did you know it?"—"it" being the crimes of Communism.

Mr. Genovese both castigates the Left, including himself, for refusing to acknowledge its moral complicity in the mass murders committed by Communist regimes, and traces those crimes to such elements of left-wing ideology as radical egalitarianism.

His respondents naturally resist the second point, but they are surprisingly prepared to shoulder moral complicity in the Gulag, except when they claim—disingenuously, says Professor Genovese—to have denounced it all along.

These exchanges are the beginning, not the end, of a debate. But if *Dissent* is prepared to discuss the Gulag honestly, that may provide cover for ABC, CBS, and NBC to do the same.

■ Northern Ireland offers apparently endless confirmation of the fecklessness of liberal statecraft. It is seven months since the Downing Street Declaration was jointly promulgated by the British and Irish governments to general approval except in *NR* and, to be fair, *The New Republic*.

That Declaration—a series of mainly rhetorical concessions to Irish nationalist doctrine—was designed to entice the Provisional IRA to the negotiating table. But it was prudently accompanied by threats of a security "crackdown" if the Provos' campaign of violence continued. And there would be no more concessions, including clarifications of the document, prior to talks.

Liberal commentators announced victory. The IRA, they agreed, had been put in a bind: either to renounce terrorism (in effect permanently, in a war-weary Northern Ireland) or to face repression backed by Irish opinion.

Oblivious, the IRA went on planting bombs and shooting policemen with only the briefest Christmas "truce."

The two governments retaliated by making further concessions, notably lifting the Irish ban on television interviews with terrorists. Taking the hint, Washington admitted Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein leader, for his triumphal U.S. tour. Even the British government, after repeatedly saying it wouldn't, "clarified" the Declaration in response to detailed IRA questionnaires.

All to no avail. Last week the IRA rejected the Declaration.

And the coming security crackdown? Such irresponsible talk is no longer heard. Well, the withdrawal of the concessions then? Both governments have said firmly that they will not be intimidated by the IRA: the concessions will go ahead. As will the bombing, the shooting, the maiming, and the killing.

On reflection, the IRA may feel relieved that its 1991 mortar attack on Downing Street failed to hit its target. It would look today, in local Belfast parlance, too much like an "own goal."

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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FOR THE RECORD

■ *Washington Times* editor/columnist **Wesley Pruden** says **Bill Clinton**'s back-off on universal coverage before Governors' Association gave Democrats excuse to "bury" ClintonCare and "come up with something else, even if it's a joint resolution urging Americans to brush their teeth twice a day." A not-so-sanguine GOP Chairman **Haley Barbour** faxed party leaders warning that Senate Majority Leader **George Mitchell** (D., Me.) and House Speaker **Thomas Foley** (D., Wash.) are trying to "jam through" ClintonCare minus the label. . . . Damage from Clinton's latest flip-flop severe because it capped weeks of bad news. Democratic National Committee Chairman **David Wilhelm** so angered party leaders with health TV spots that Sen. **Bob Kerrey** (D., Neb.) told rank and file not to make DNC contributions. Then Senate Finance Committee Chairman **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** (D., N.Y.) confessed committee hasn't "the slightest idea" of health-legislation costs. . . . As Moynihan put in pork for New York hospitals, Rep. **Dan Rostenkowski** (D., Ill.) did same for Chicago, and chiropractors won Medicare rights. Health bill degenerated into a special-interest free-for-all, says *Wall Street Journal*'s **Paul Gigot**. Gigot sees Democrats trying to make hospitals, doctors, and nurses dependents of Democratic Congress. Biggest disappointment: American Medical Association abandoned opposition to politician-run health system—allegedly in return for exemption from antitrust laws. . . . Colleagues of **Hillary**'s health-care Rasputin, **Ira Magaziner**, telling Scripps-Howard his 5-A.M.-to-late-night attempts to rescue state-run system show he has "lost perspective."

■ TV networks' turn-down of GOP Chairman Barbour's request to buy time for hour-long health special (paid for by **Ross Perot**) set off rejoinders from the Right: ABC once gave Hillary two free hours, and NBC did "news" special financed by **Robert Wood** Foundation, which featured three members of Hillary–Magaziner health task force. NBC Washington Chief **Tim Russert** denies that special, hosted by **Tom Brokaw**, was one-sided. Russert—before taking present job, a non-journalist and a staffer for Moynihan and **Mario Cuomo**—says he and network would never be partisan. . . . *MediaWatch* also reports that ABC's nighttime news did full story when Clinton critic Sen. **Alfonse D'Amato** (R., N.Y.) picked up $35,000 on stock trade, but took 12 days even to mention Hillary's 10,000 per cent profit on commodities deal. Program's producer is **Rick Kaplan**—Clinton golfing buddy and unofficial adviser in 1992 campaign on **Gennifer Flowers** damage control.

■ GOP finds sleeper issue for fall: Former Defense Secretary **Dick Cheney** blasting Administration for "squandering legacy" of strong defense left by **Bush**. **Jack Kemp** reports in newsletter that U.S. is "cutting 15,000 personnel, one ship, 37 primary aircraft and one combat battalion each month." Former **Reagan** appointees **Richard Perle** and **Ken Adelman** decrying abandonment of SDI, while Rep. **Dan Burton** (R., Ind.) is livid at Clintonites for forcing White House military aides—all officers—to serve hors d'oeuvres at reception. . . . Some Democrats apparently not scared: Sen. **Chuck Robb** (D., Va.), now in neck-and-neck race with **Ollie North**, told American Legion he stands by support for Clinton's gays-in-the-military proposal.

"I tax, therefore I am."

■ Administration concessions to Russians in ABM talks—over protests by Joint Chiefs—will restrict U.S. anti-missile defenses, according to *Washington Times* article by **Bill Gertz**. . . . Research by Russian historian **Dmitri Volkogonov** says **Lenin** personally ordered destruction of more than 70,000 churches, despised Russians as "fools" and "idiots," and wanted peasant hangings so that "people will see, tremble, know, and scream out." . . . End-of-Cold-War casualty; tourism in Berlin—off by 10 per cent since destruction of the Wall. . . . Secret recordings prove Colombia drug cartel financed presidential candidate **Ernesto Samper Pizano**, who won close contest last month. Drug Enforcement Agency official furious at State Dept. for withholding tapes. . . . In revision of "One China" policy, U.S. may permit Cabinet-level exchanges between U.S. and Taiwan. Commerce Secretary **Ron Brown** may visit old U.S. friend (with $87 billion in foreign currency reserves) in fall.

■ **M. Stanton Evans**'s National Journalism Center accepting student applications for 12-week fall internships. Deadline is Sept. 2; applications available at 800 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; or call 202-544-1333.

■ Columnist **Ben Wattenberg** announces winner in contest for Clinton foreign-policy slogan: "Lax Americana." Runner-up: "Hesiocrastination." Honorable mentions: "Neo-Carterism," "Explainment," "Flipomacy," "Abdicationism," "Global Gliberation," "Big Blatherism," "Non-Inhalationism." . . . Catholic catechism, at 1.6 million copies, hottest-selling book except *Recipes from Rosie*—low-fat diet book by **Oprah Winfrey**'s cook.

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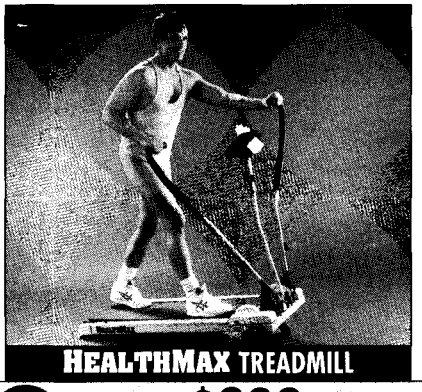

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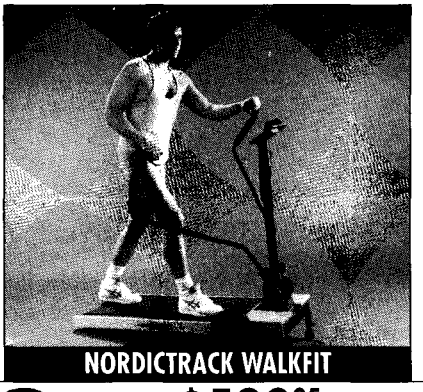

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5	Variable Resistance on Arm Exercise Poles and Tread	YES Adjusts to your personal resistance level with a simple twist of a dial. Arm pole resistance is 2-way—push *and* pull—for maximum workout.	YES **BUT...**WalkFit costs almost *twice as much* as HEALTHMAX!
6	Adjustable Height on Arm Exercise Poles	YES Adjust to fit your height for most effective workout.	NO Not adjustable. You'll have to use the one height they give you.
7	Electronic Workout Monitor	YES 7-function monitor tracks your workout progress.	YES **BUT...** Are you sure you want to spend $300 more than HEALTHMAX TREADMILL?
8	Pulse Monitor Included	YES Monitors your heart rate for optimum—and safe—workout.	NO Not included. To get one, you must pay an extra $149.95 for their optional "workout computer."
9	Folds for Easy Storage	YES Easily folds to just 49" long by 19½" wide by only 11" high!	YES **BUT...**When folded, it's still 52½" long by 21" wide by a cumbersome 17" high.
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11	Payable in Installments	YES 8 easy credit card installments of just $37.38! ($59 shipping/handling added to first installment.)	YES **BUT...**You start by paying $169.90, then you must pay $40 per month for 12 months! (includes 12% interest)

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THE WEEK

■ Ted Kennedy has apparently joined those urging President Clinton to order an invasion. It isn't known whether he favors a permanent occupation of Pizza Hut headquarters.

■ The most effective veto on the Hill now may not be Bill Clinton's but Representative Nancy Johnson's. The Connecticut moderate gets a disproportionate say in the House Republican Conference, which makes for a leftward drag on GOP positions. Refusing to apply the "Nancy Johnson test" will be crucial in formulating the ten-point election program Newt Gingrich plans to unveil in September. Mr. Gingrich wants it to be bold and specific. Here's how. Crime: Give each state the equivalent of 2 per cent of the federal income taxes paid by its citizens to be devoted to police, prisons, and courts (as set forth in the Jim Sensenbrenner bill in the House). Otherwise, just get out of the way, restricting the jurisdiction of federal judges over state prisons (the Charles Canady bill) and removing the procedural obstacles judges have stuck in the way of police over the years. Welfare: Cut off single, able-bodied adults and single mothers under the age of 21, require 50 per cent of the caseload to work (as opposed to about 6 per cent in the Clinton plan), and cap all welfare spending (Jim Talent's bill in the House, Lauch Faircloth's in the Senate). Taxes: Start with a $750 family tax credit for each child (upping the ante slightly from the Republican alternative budget). Spending: Fund the tax credits with across-the-board spending cuts (the mechanism can be pulled from the spending controls in Dick Armey's flat-tax proposal), and push for an A-to-Z-style spending-cut free-for-all. Immigration: Impose a moratorium (along the lines of Bob Stump's bill, which already has 54 Republican and 19 Democratic co-sponsors) while a new long-term policy is hammered out. Affirmative action: Eliminate all race and gender preferences in federal hiring, promotion, contracts, and regulations (such as those imposed on institutions of higher education). And the test to ensure that these ideas would create a sharp contrast between the GOP and the Democrats? Nancy, do you feel uncomfortable yet?

■ Surgeon General Elders's likeness, along with seven of her choicest remarks, appeared in a full-page newspaper ad taken out by a group called American Renewal, under the legend: "Bill Clinton chose this doctor. Now he wants to choose yours." Think of it as a Surgeon General warning.

■ With his honoraria exceeding his salary, Mario Cuomo's mouth has justifiably been called the last growth industry left in New York State. Now, published reports say he had his agent hold back more than $100,000 of his 1993 speaking fees until 1994. The idea was apparently to avoid public disclosure of these fees until after the election, even at the cost of paying taxes on them at the higher 1994 rate. This is illegal as well as altruistic. The IRS has ruled in similar cases that taxpayers have "constructively received" such funds in the year in which the agent receives them. The man who raided his employees' pension system to cover his budget deficit is not likely to be at a loss for words. We look forward to hearing him explain that he has always favored retroactive taxation.

■ Fort Sumter in Colorado? That's one way of reading Joint Resolution 1035, passed by a 3 to 1 vote by the Colorado state legislature. The resolution serves "Notice and Demand to the Federal Government, as our agent, to cease and desist, effective immediately, mandates that are beyond the scope of its constitutionally delegated powers." It wasn't so long ago that such a radical reaffirmation of the Tenth Amendment wasn't necessary. When Social Security and minimum-wage laws

"I was having one of those days when I couldn't seem to do anything legal."

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Affordably priced; satisfaction guaranteed.

Try this breakthrough in pain relief for only $159 (plus $15 s&h), payable in six monthly credit card installments of just $29. Satisfaction is guaranteed. Use it for 30 days — if you don't experience the relief that 96% of clinic users report, return it for a full refund. MR. BACK RELIEF is available only from Willabee & Ward. Get fast relief! Call the toll-free number today!

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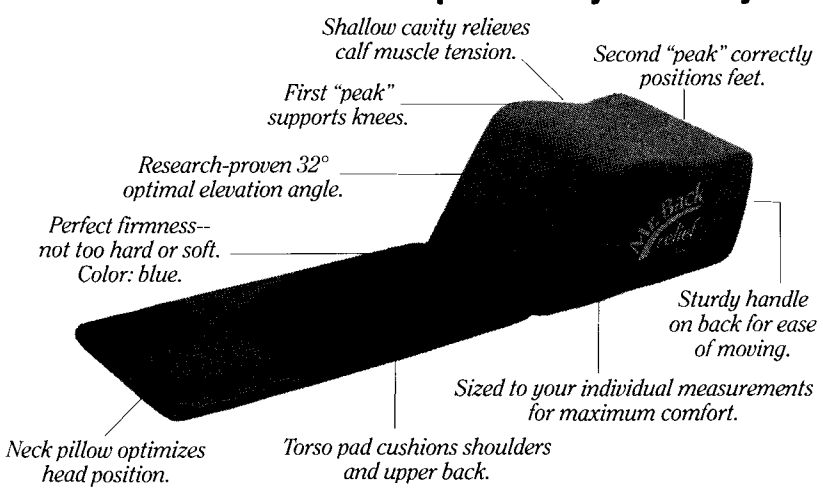
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were first enacted in the 1930s, for example, Congress exempted state governments because it considered them separate, sovereign, and equal. The problem started when Lyndon Johnson's Great Society dangled categorical grant programs before unsuspecting states. The carrot—federal aid money—was soon overshadowed by the stick: mandatory medical benefits, welfare, education programs for the handicapped, job training, etc., etc. Add the unfunded mandates imposed by, for example, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and as much as 60 per cent of some state budgets are currently spent complying with federal programs. Plans to turn federal programs back to the states surface every few years, but the New Federalism invariably loses out to the old Washington power grab. Colorado's resolution is the the first salvo in what might become a very uncivil war.

■ The Clinton Administration has been involved in one foreign-policy disaster after another. This wouldn't be happening if Warren Christopher were still alive.

■ Until recently, Italian prosecutors routinely practiced "preventive detention" of criminal suspects, keeping them in jail until they confessed, implicated others, or both. This is the kind of thing you would expect the civil-libertarians at the *New York Times* to thunder about. But it turns out that the *Times* rather likes preventive detention, when it is used against the right sort of villains and opposed by the right sort of critics. In this case, it was businessmen and politicians suspected of giving and taking bribes who were being jailed, and Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, the head of "a right-wing coalition," who questioned the practice. The *Times* condemned him for issuing a decree (since withdrawn under pressure) suspending preventive detention—which is, after all, "normal legal practice in Italy" and "a valuable tool" for prosecutors investigating corruption. What's more, Mr. Berlusconi's decree "detonated street protests and scathing editorials." It seems that police-state tactics are OK, as long as they're effective, popular, and Italian.

■ Two million Rwandans have fled their country's genocidal civil war, with cholera now spreading in the fetid camps in Zaïre. President Clinton has authorized $250 million in relief funds and ordered four thousand U.S. troops to the area to set up a logistics pipeline; U.S. Air Force C-5As and C-141s have begun airlifting food, medical supplies, and water-purification equipment. Rwanda is a monumental human tragedy, and this kind of effort is an American tradition; but it wouldn't be bad for others, especially the Europeans, to pitch in a bit more. The French, in particular, who armed the genocidal Rwandan regime until as recently as May and who intervened only when their clients were in full flight, have a lot to answer for. Their reputation for having a sophisticated Africa policy is one casualty of this conflict.

■ Retired KGB officer Pavel Sudoplatov's allegations that J. Robert Oppenheimer, Niels Bohr, et al. were sharing atomic secrets with the Soviet Union continue to reverberate, despite attempts by both the Left and the scientific establishment to discredit his book, *Special Tasks*. Mr. Sudoplatov's critics made much of the fact that he relied mostly on reminiscence, little on documents (not, incidentally, an unusual practice in memoirs). Now, however, the London *Sunday Times* has unearthed the KGB transcripts of two November 1945 meetings in Denmark between Dr. Bohr and two KGB officers—powerfully corroborating the account in Mr. Sudoplatov's book. Dr. Bohr's defenders had claimed the reported meeting was a casual encounter; the KGB documents show that he gave detailed replies to 22 questions prepared in advance by Igor Kurchatov, chief of the Soviet nuclear program, and commented freely on methods the U.S. was using to enrich uranium. Lavrenti Beria, the notorious spymaster, thought these interrogations sufficiently important that, in addition to passing them on to the nuclear physicists, he delivered a personal report to Stalin. The American media, however, do not share Beria's view. Although the discovery of these documents was prominently reported in the British press on June 26 and 27, they have received no coverage in America. Perhaps reporters are keeping them for their memoirs.

■ In an amusing sidelight, a group of Russian physicists published a letter in *Izvestia* denouncing Mr. Sudoplatov for his slur on their honor. They vociferously reject the suggestion that the Soviet bomb was the product of stolen secrets rather than a triumph of Soviet science.

Dear Diary

Like the tapes that weren't burned
After Mr. Nixon learned
What the acetate contained,
Mr. Clinton's more than pained
At what Mr. Steiner wrote
In a sort of a schoolgirl note
Just before he went to bed.
Now they're on TV, instead.

W. H. VON DREELE

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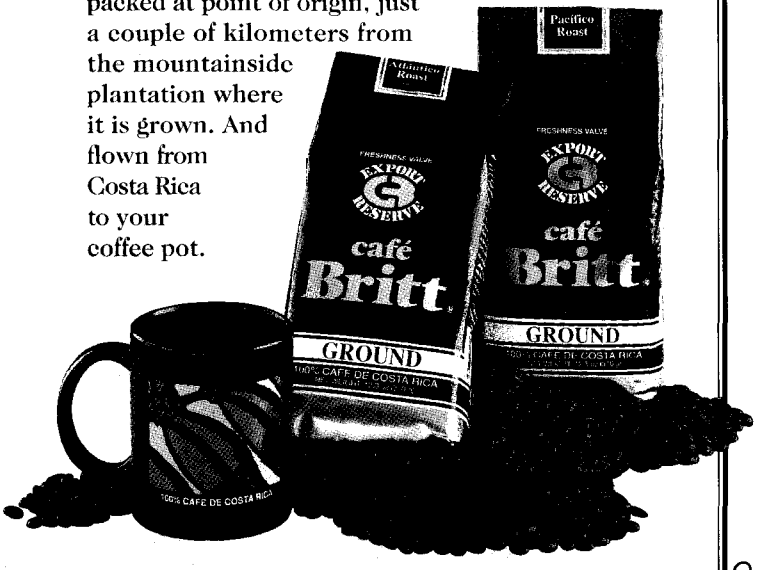

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❑ Yes, send me two FREE 12.3 oz. bags of Café Britt (light and dark roasts) and the FREE mug, a $21.50 total value. I pay only $3.95 shipping and handling. Then, unless I cancel, I'll receive a fresh shipment of Costa Rica's premier coffee (3 bags), about every five weeks, and be billed just $6.50 per bag, plus delivery. I may modify my order at any time and cancel whenever I wish.

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Check one: ❑ Whole bean ❑ Ground

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Credit Card No. Expiration Date

Signature required

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■ It is one of the country's most serious public-health problems, affecting fully one-third of all Americans, causing disease, disability, and death. Yet the Federal Government is doing almost nothing about it. A Columbia University professor of medicine recently told the *New York Times*: "The proportion of the population that is obese is incredible. If this was about tuberculosis, it would be called an epidemic." And a Harvard University researcher estimated that "obesity cost the nation $68.8 billion in 1990." Obviously, the obese should be forced to take into account the heavy costs that their overeating and sloth impose on society. The best way to do this is through a tax. Every American should be weighed once a year—it could be part of a standard physical—and charged for each pound over his ideal weight. This market-based, pay-at-the-scale approach would create an incentive to slim down, while compensating the public for the additional medical expenses, fuel consumption, and elevator wear and tear associated with food abuse. It would be an important step toward a fat-free society.

■ A new study says Mexican food is dangerously high in fat content. FDA Director David Kessler is expected to have salsa declared a drug.

■ The Federal Communications Commission plans to rule on whether TV stations can banish certain anti-abortion ads—those showing photos of dead fetuses—to obscure hours of the late night and early morning. "The Commission could find the commercials are harmful to children," reports *Advertising Age* without a speck of irony. The ads show kids what might have happened to them had they been conceived at a moment their parents found inopportune. A scary thought indeed. We only wish the Federal Government would apply such an exquisite concern for child welfare in a more consistent manner. If it did, there would be no need for anti-abortion TV ads.

■ In 1989 Congress enacted restrictions making it harder for children to gain access to phone-sex lines—if they were calling a number in the United States. But restrictions at home have created a lucrative new market overseas. Direct-dial numbers that require no credit card continue to provide cheap thrills at high prices, to parents' dismay. One Ohio father discovered that his 11-year-old twin boys had racked up $250 in charges calling Moldova, a former republic of the Soviet Union. Other parents have complained of bills over $900. If your bill is suddenly laden with calls to obscure places, you might want to have a talk with junior—he may be listening to the Dungeon Lady in Zimbabwe, or Luscious Lila in the Azores.

■ *Washington Times* reporter Rod Dreher, armed with a calculator and trying to convey the mega-impact of Shoemaker-Levy 9 fragments on the planet Jupiter, reckoned that Fragment G was as big as "1,980 Kim Jong Ils laid foot to bouffant, or 2,011 without his lifts," or, even more terrifying, "35,200 likenesses of Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders's mouth."

Troubled Partnership

PRESIDENT Clinton's recent trip to Europe was supposed to be a stage-managed display of affection among the G-7 leaders. Instead, it ended on a note of discord, as President Mitterrand rejected Mr. Clinton's surprise proposal for further trade liberalization. The tiff, while small in itself, highlights worrisome trends which, unless countered by decisive action, could drive America and Europe apart.

Foremost among these trends is the emergence of a European Union with socialist inclinations. Many of the Common Market's original supporters conceived of it as a liberalizing force, which indeed it was and could be again. Their reasoning was that free trade and free movement of capital among member states would allow their citizens, in their roles as consumers and investors, to vote with their wallets against parasitic government. But in an illustration of O'Sullivan's Law ("All organizations that are not explicitly right-wing become left-wing over time"), the European Union, by imposing identical regulations and spending programs on all its members, now promotes the very statism it had the potential to restrain. The European *nomenklatura* has stealthily expanded the central government, creating a multilayered bureaucracy to manage product standards, corporatist industrial policies, minimum wages, collective bargaining, and handouts to the EU's "poor" countries.

Such Eurosocialism is likely to vitiate any eco-

The Big Blink

As mandates go a-glimmering
With universal care,
While Donna tears her pantyhose
And Hillary, her hair,
One has to leaf through history
Way back to Betty Boop
For eyelids that, when batted, threw
So many for a loop.

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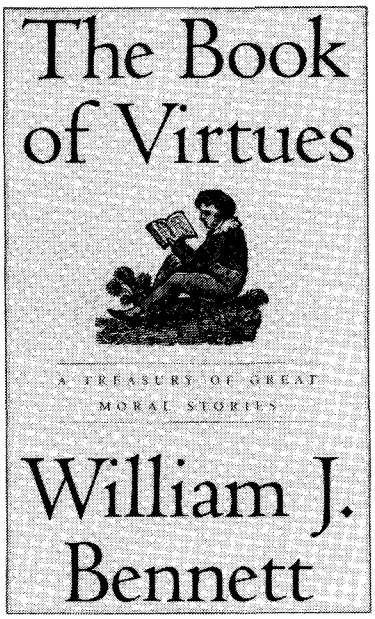

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Rush Limbaugh explains why he gives this extraordinary anthology by Reagan Cabinet member William Bennett his unqualified endorsement:

> "*The Book of Virtues* is built on an old philosophical principle nearly forgotten in the public discussion (and in certain recent presidential campaigns), but it is an idea I have long championed: Character matters. What a concept! But beware — some of the lessons in this book are rooted in religion, which means the anthology will be ruled unconstitutional if carried into an American school.
>
> It belongs, however, in every home. *The Book of Virtues* is a superb collection, certain to fortify you and yours for a lifetime of morality, goodness, and right thinking."

Mr. Bennett groups the selections according to the ten virtues or good habits they aim to instill:

Self-Discipline ★ Compassion
★ Responsibility ★ Friendship
★ Work ★ Courage ★ Perseverance
★ Honesty ★ Loyalty ★ Faith

Each section carries its own introductory essay, and the selections have explanatory notes where necessary. You get an amazing 384 selections. Most are stories, of course, but you also get generous helpings of inspiring verse.

The selections range from half a page to several pages — all short enough to be read aloud at bedtime, during a class or home-school session, or by young readers on their own. Adults will be delighted to meet many old favorites again, and to discover neglected gems that enriched the moral life of previous generations.

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nomic stimulus produced by reductions in internal trade barriers. As Angelo Codevilla has written in these pages (June 8, 1992), a post-integration Europe could well have "labor costs on the level of Germany, trade-union activity on the level of 1970s Britain, bureaucracy as punctilious as in France and as honest as in Greece, and citizens who, to get along, will have to learn to act like Italians."

While proponents of integration tout it as a cure for Europe's historical divisions, in fact it presents opportunities galore for internal and external political conflict. To begin with, it would impose the same regulations on all member countries, regardless of their level of economic development. A labor regulation that does only modest damage in France could wreak havoc in Portugal. Europe's relatively poor countries will therefore demand bigger handouts (already, nine of the EU's twelve countries are net subsidy recipients), which will do nothing to solve their problems but which will foster division.

And that is only half the problem. Just as foisting socialism on all member states is the only way to prevent regulatory competition among governments within the EU, so protectionism is the only way to prevent such competition from outside it, albeit an expensive way. The socialist project in Europe simply cannot be sustained without it. In addition, as the 1989 fight between Europe and America over hormone-treated beef revealed, many European leaders see trade conflict with the U.S. as a way of strengthening their control over the continent. Quite correctly, too: high-profile trade disputes with other countries, no matter how absurd or trivial, do tend to promote internal solidarity—as well as to divert attention from the assault on consumers that trade barriers represent.

While Europe's leaders continually insist that they do not intend to construct a Fortress Europe, their trade policies are building it brick by foolish brick. In what ought to be a scandal, Eastern European exporters have been shut out of many EU markets (although the EU has been embarrassed into a slight opening in recent months). Martin Wolf of the *Financial Times*, points out in a recent pamphlet (published jointly by AEI Press and the Centre for Policy Studies) that EU trade policy "has, in effect, been creating a trading empire on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century lines, with carefully delimited trade preferences being used to cement relations, influence the positions of weaker foreign countries, and win a favorable position for European firms. Meanwhile, the principal role of the GATT, from the Union's point of view, has been not so much to create a global system of equal treatment, as to manage trade relations with the other great economic power, the U.S."

A Europe that erected trade barriers against the U.S. would adopt an anti-American foreign policy in short order. It would be tempted in this direction in any case, first by its position as a rival superpower, and second by the absence of any common enemy to cement the Atlantic Alliance. But protectionism would add immeasurably to these pressures. It would inspire defensive action by the U.S.—indeed, it already has done so in mild form, NAFTA being partly a response to regional trade blocs elsewhere. Moreover, the logic of protectionism promotes geopolitical competition; an autarchic government must expand its sphere of influence in order to derive the same economic benefits that free trade allows to flow across borders.

If this scenario came to pass—and if East Asia were to form a "yen bloc" in response—the structure of global commerce could well break into three insular blocs. These blocs would organize politically around three superstates, each pursuing rival ambitions and interests but all run for the convenience of their rulers. Orwell's *1984*, if not quite on schedule, would prove prescient, even optimistic. For the U.S., although today's sole superpower, might not on its own have the resources, population, and economic clout to match up to a China-led Asian bloc at the end of the twenty-first century.

THESE ARE alarming prospects. Rendering them merely bad dreams should be one of America's top foreign-policy goals. Current U.S. policies, however, could not be better calculated to make this dystopia our future.

Since 1949 the U.S. State Department has been a tireless cheerleader for tight, bureaucratic European integration. That policy, whatever merit it had as a means of strengthening a Cold War ally, needs to be revised now. The future of the EU is the subject of multiple debates within Europe, between *dirigistes* and free-marketeers, Europe-firsters and Atlanticists, "wideners" (who want to let more countries join the club) and "deepeners" (who want integration to take priority over enlargement). In these conflicts we should not hesitate to side with the parties promoting our interest in a larger, more

Unwed but Well Fed

When "bastard" had a certain ring,
Except when Daddy was the king
(And even then, one had to plot
Before the court would cheer a lot),
An out-of-wedlock birth would halt
Advancement to below the salt,
But what with stamps and welfare, Ma
Finds two beat one, et cetera.

W. H. VON DREELE

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They fought for religious freedom. Will you? Call now. 1-800-225-4008

When President Roosevelt ordered our young men to storm the beaches at Normandy, we didn't ask if they were devout Catholics, or observant Jews, or Bible-believing Protestants. As Roosevelt said, we asked them to defend "our republic, our religion and our civilization." Neither did we have religious tests for voting, serving on juries, or holding political office.

Yet today, incredibly, national leaders ridicule Americans of faith as part of a strategy calculated to intimidate and deny them their rightful place in the political process. Which is very *un*-American. They claim that the most serious threat we face to our democratic political system is participation by the "un-Christian right" and "fire-breathing radicals." *But they are wrong.* Their attitude fosters a spirit of religious intolerance that would have been unthinkable in the America of FDR, Ike, JFK and Ronald Reagan.

As Americans, we do not agree on all political and social issues. Even those of us with strong religious beliefs often must "agree to disagree." What we need are more citizens willing to stand for the free exercise of religion, both in public and in private life. If you believe the political dialog should be open to ALL citizens regardless of their religious convictions, contact us today. We won't ask your religion, just for your undying commitment to freedom.

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Gary Bauer, President

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open, more Atlanticist EU. Eastern European nations, for instance, could benefit dramatically from easier access to EU markets, and they would be a voice for a less constrictive confederation; it is hard to picture the Czech Republic's Vaclav Klaus going along with Fortress Europe.

President Clinton's policies toward Europe drift in the opposite direction. His urging of German leadership of a more integrated Europe tends to promote the protectionist vision of the *dirigistes* and deepeners. His "draw-down" of U.S. defense capabilities in general and U.S. troop levels in NATO in particular strengthens European fears and hence the pressure for a separate European defense organization. And his erratic performance in foreign policy, especially over Bosnia, has weakened respect for American leadership. The only way to make sense of this combination of policies is as a crabwise isolationism circling toward a Fortress America.

RIGHT DATA

Ifs, Ands, and Butts

THE HARMFUL effects of smoking added nearly $50 billion to U.S. health costs last year, or $2.06 per pack of cigarettes, according to the Centers for Disease Control. Non-smokers "pay" for this with higher health-and-life insurance premiums. Their taxes also go up to cover the smoking-related costs of public-health programs. The apparent ability of smokers to shift the costs of their habit to non-smokers has led to calls for a rise in cigarette taxes.

In 1963, the year before the Surgeon General sounded the alarm on smoking, cigarette taxes accounted for nearly 46 per cent of the average cost of a pack. By 1993 the rate was down to 28.3 per cent. At 52 cents per pack, the current tax doesn't begin to cover the health costs attributed to smoking.

CIGARETTE SALES, PRICES, AND TAXES

	Packs Sold		Average Price	State and Federal Cigarette Taxes	
	Total	Per Capita	Per Pack	Average Per Pack	As a % of Price
1955	14.2 bil.	108.3	22.7¢	11.5¢	50.7%
1963	22.7	128.3	28.8	13.2	45.8
1970	23.9	118.3	37.1	18.2	49.1
1980	29.2	132.6	60.0	21.0	35.0
1990	25.0	104.4	144.1	40.7	28.2
1993	23.3	97.6	183.7	52.0	28.3

Source: Tobacco Institute

But smokers also die sooner—137 minutes sooner for every pack smoked, according to a 1989 RAND Corporation study, amounting to about seven years for a two-pack-a-day smoker. Their shorter life expectancy lowers the costs of pensions and nursing-home care for non-smokers. In Social Security alone the average smoker loses $20,000 that he paid in but won't live to receive.

With this adjustment, smokers appear to pay their own way. The RAND study puts the costs not borne by smokers themselves at just 15 cents per pack, or far less than the 75-cent tax hike proposed by the Clinton Administration. (By contrast, heavy drinkers, who as a group are more likely to take early retirement than die early, impose external costs equal to $0.48 per ounce, far exceeding the average state and federal alcohol tax.)

Of course, the benefits of deterring smoking may transcend economics. Canada certainly thought so when it raised the tax by $3 per carton in 1992.

Canadians simply avoided the tax by exporting tax-free cigarettes to the U.S. and smuggling them back. Quebec says that half of cigarettes consumed there came in that way.

High taxes unleashed a crime wave, with a record number of thefts reported at stores. Tax evasion became rampant, as evidenced by a sharp rise in the use of cash rather than checks or credit cards. In February the government threw in the towel, cutting the federal tax by more than one-third.

Can it happen here? Obviously we do not have the option of purchasing cheap smokes from Canada. But we do have 50 states, each with its own cigarette tax rate. Interstate smuggling is already common, and would rise further if President Clinton gets his 75 cents a pack.

The biggest problem could develop along the southern border. Mexican premium cigarettes, which include most top U.S. brands, now sell for about $1.35 per pack, tax included. After the Clinton tax, smugglers could save us about $9 per carton. On off brands, the price gap would be as much as $19 per carton. At $10 per carton, a truckload of contraband Mexican cigarettes could turn a gross profit of up to $600,000.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

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Probably, however, the explanation is less strategic vision than political fecklessness. When the French government made overtures toward re-integrating NATO's military command last summer—something previous U.S. Administrations would have leapt at—Clinton officials reacted with indifference. That was folly. America's guarantee of security to Europe has been the glue holding the Atlantic Alliance together for the past four and a half decades. The respect for American leadership thus built should not be squandered merely to allow the Democrats to fund their sundry domestic initiatives; it is not a commodity easy to reacquire. If the damage caused by that gaffe can be repaired, the offer should be enthusiastically explored.

In addition, the U.S. should move Eastern Europe out of the halfway house of the "Partnership for Peace" and into full membership in NATO. Security guarantees are the indispensable underpinning of any regime of nuclear non-proliferation; without them, Eastern Europe will sink into chaos or be forced to accept vassalage to Russia or Germany. While in Poland, Mr. Clinton assured his hosts that no country would have a veto over their admission to NATO. In practice, he has allowed Russia to exercise such a veto. If Russia has no designs on its neighbors, it should have no objections to NATO's extension; if it has such designs, so much more compelling the case for it.

But it is still trade that presents the most potentially divisive aspect of European-American relations. A bold initiative is required to head off the danger. The U.S. should propose a North Atlantic Free Trade Area, encompassing the U.S., the EU, and Eastern Europe: call it NAFTA II, and hold the side-agreements. Within that area, consumers would be free to seek the best bargains, and capital to seek the highest returns. The alliance envisioned here—the economic counterpart to an enlarged NATO—would combine economic integration with political decentralization. Within the broad framework of free trade and cooperation on security, each nation would retain the sovereign power to arrange its domestic affairs as it saw fit.

Clyde Prestowitz and Robin Gaster, representing respectively the neo-mercantilist Economic Strategy Institute and North Atlantic Research, Inc., have recently come out for creating just such an economic NATO in a report entitled "Shrinking the Atlantic." They point out that the EU and the U.S. are already each other's largest investors (49 per cent of American overseas investment is in Europe, and Europeans account for 59 per cent of foreign investment here). And they argue that further trade liberalization will be much easier between countries with similar economic structures and philosophies.

Free-traders will not be able to endorse every point of their analysis. Their underlying assumption—that free trade is appropriate only between countries that are very similar in economic structure and public policies—is false; after all, if countries were the same in every respect, there would be no point to engaging in trade. Nor can free-traders endorse all their conclusions. The report encourages the EU and the U.S. "to resolve their remaining differences . . . on those domestic issues that bear heavily on international commerce, such as labor policy, competition policy, and environmental and other forms of non-economic regulation." The Clinton Administration would no doubt welcome such bureaucratic harmonization, but it should be resisted—not least because European-style regulation and taxation would mean European-style double-digit unemployment.

These are important caveats. We can, however, welcome Messrs. Prestowitz and Gaster and others of a similar persuasion (neo-mercantilists? trade hawks? "realistic" free-traders?) as allies in the limited cause of Atlantic free trade while rejecting their ultimate principles.

For European–American relations are now being driven by quarrels over relatively trivial differences rather than by agreement on far more important common interests. These common interests will be secured only if the protectionist pressures currently pushing America and Europe apart are contained by North Atlantic free trade. And because the single most important U.S. national interest is an Atlantic Alliance in which America is the dominant partner, Europe is too important to be left to the Europeans.

Stealth Reform

"This is a big country, it's a diverse country, and when you make a change like this you've got to give people time to get ready for the change."

—Representative Dick Gephardt

WHEN THE House Majority Leader begins to sound notes of caution on health care reminiscent of a Bill Kristol memo, you know the nation's fear and loathing of the Clinton plan has finally penetrated the Beltway. Beating the wobbly Health Care Express bus caravan into the nation's capital last week was political reality.

The Clinton plan, after almost a year of intense presidential salesmanship, is about as popular as Lyme Disease. So the game for congressional Democrats now is not to turn public opinion—even Senator Harris Wofford, the midwife of health care as a national issue, is trying to avoid the issue in his re-election fight—but to sneak behind it.

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That was the point of the dramatic announcement by congressional leaders that the Clinton plan was being jettisoned for something less bureaucratic. Great. But in the House, that something is likely to be a version of the Ways and Means Committee bill, which has all the mandates and regulations of the Clinton plan (plus a vast expansion of Medicare), and in the Senate, a version of the Finance Committee's health-care-by-government-commission bill. "Dropping" the Clinton plan was just a cynical way to strip the warning label from a noxious product.

The same goes for Mr. Gephardt's talk of delaying reform four or five years. Government-run health care in four years instead of two is supposed to be a deal? The advantages of a speed bump on the way to radical overhaul are purely political: Democrats get the gain now—"reforming health care"—while the pain wouldn't begin until after 1996.

The demons in the Clinton plan will be exorcised once and for all only when universal coverage, even as a "goal," is kicked overboard. Republicans should be kicking like mad. Universal coverage may poll well as a fuzzy abstraction, but in reality it's the heart of the rejected Clinton plan: there's no way to achieve it without onerous taxes and health-care rationing.

The DNC is now running ads about Hawaii's system that imply universal coverage means swaying palm trees and white beaches. Left out is that four of ten Hawaiian businesses say they have fired employees, six out of ten raised their prices, and half reduced wages or benefits because of the employer mandate. And still only about 93 per cent of Hawaiians are covered. The Dole plan gets to 90 per cent coverage with no mandates at all. Do we really want to end health care as we know it in order to cover an additional 3 per cent of Americans, almost all of whom have access to health care anyway?

The American public clearly says "no." That's why health care is now a GOP issue. Republicans should feel no need to join the rush to reform that will see frantic lobbyists and Democratic staffers trying to patch together some "universal coverage" plan that gets 51 or 218 votes. The choices should be: Dole-style reform and a President eating his dearest promise, or nothing at all. Let the Democrats pick.

Look Over Jordan

KING HUSSEIN'S summit meeting at the White House with Yitzhak Rabin was not as striking as last September's handshake between Rabin and Yasir Arafat, but it was important nonetheless. Aside from his blunder in joining the Six Day War in 1967, Hussein has long had the deserved reputation as the Arab leader most willing to live in peace with Israel. His secret meetings with Israeli leaders go back 25 years, and his government has cooperated quietly in suppressing Palestinian radicalism on the West Bank.

His decision to come out of the closet now suggests that his fear of Syrian and Palestinian intimidation is much diminished, with the Syrians weak and isolated and the PLO making its own deals with Israel. Hussein is also eager not to be left out of the rapidly evolving Israeli–Palestinian relationship on the West Bank—and it is in the American interest that Jordan remain involved in the West Bank as a check on the PLO.

With the exception of his delay in signing a formal peace treaty until there is further progress on the Syrian front—his last gesture to Arab solidarity—the King is pulling out all the stops: the declaration at the White House pledges an end to the state of belligerency, and Israeli–Jordanian negotiations are already under way on a host of topics from border rectifications to water rights to economic cooperation (including an airport to be shared by the towns of Aqaba and Eilat). All this is proceeding out in the open—in fact, it is being flaunted—in marked contrast to the past.

These bold steps by King Hussein will prod Syria to jump on the peace bandwagon, and the PLO to behave itself. So bolstering pro-Western Jordan will foster peace and security in a region where the U.S. has both allies and economic interests. Congress should act accordingly.

Venezuela's Wrong Turn

AMERICANS are used to thinking of Venezuela as one of Latin America's richest and most stable countries. A democracy since 1958 and the possessor of enormous oil deposits, Venezuela has seemed an oasis during years of military rule and economic turmoil elsewhere in Latin America.

But oil revenue taught Venezuelans exactly the wrong lesson: that economics and politics should be all about the distribution, not the production, of wealth. When former President Pérez (a late convert, but a valuable one) tried to adopt free-market reforms in 1989, massive rioting resulted. 1992 brought two coup attempts, led by officers whose rhetoric was more reminiscent of Benito Mussolini than of Augusto Pinochet. The coup plotters' "Bolivarian" policies amount to the sort of populist nonsense that ruined Peru's economy when *its* army took over in the 1970s Pérez survived the coup attempts, but last year he was convicted of

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corruption. He is now in jail, and a newly elected president, Rafael Caldera, was inaugurated in February. He has already reversed most of Pérez's reforms and in the last few weeks imposed price and foreign-exchange controls in the bargain.

The prognosis is grim. Economic crisis is very likely to produce violence. President Caldera has asked Congress for new laws allowing him to go after "hoarders" and "speculators," and already police have harried critics of the government. A few months of strikes, demonstrations, disorder, and shortages could produce another coup attempt—and the law of averages suggests that sooner or later one will succeed.

Economic crisis, hyperinflation, defeat in war, or years of military dictatorship seem to have prepared the people of nations such as Peru, Argentina, and Bolivia for the radical change represented by free-market economics. But the blessing of oil wealth turned into a curse for Venezuela, for it left the nation unwilling to change. It would be tragic if Venezuela were now to go through years of crisis before it, too, learned that wealth results from the productivity that only free markets can reward and induce. Yet, today, that is the safest bet.

Chlorinophobia

THE Environmental Defense Fund and Greenpeace have argued for some years that chlorine and its synthetic compounds are so toxic that we must ban them. Always obedient to environmentalist superstition, the Clinton Administration has now announced that it is establishing a mechanism at the EPA to phase out chlorine compounds wherever substitutes could be produced, no matter what the expense.

The environmentalist cult has made a special villain of supposedly unnatural "organochlorides" synthesized by the chemical industry in the past sixty years. DDT, the wonder insecticide of World War II and savior of hundreds of millions from malaria, was first to be banned after the publication of Rachel Carson's clever demagogic tract *Silent Spring*. Polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), used as coolants in large electrical switches and transformers, were extirpated next. The paper industry is spending billions to end its depositing in rivers and lakes of even trace amounts of dioxins, another family of supposedly "unnatural" chlorine compounds.

The environmentalists' most ambitious campaign is the push to get governments to ban *all* chlorine-containing compounds. That threatens about two-thirds of the plastics industry ("vinyl," after all, is polyvinyl chloride), about a fifth of all modern pharmaceuticals, and many leading pesticides.

Now, however, Gordon W. Gribble, professor of chemistry at Dartmouth, has documented in the journal *Priorities* how organochloride compounds once thought to be entirely manmade are being found out there in nature. In 1968 only 30 natural organochlorides were known; by this year 1,000 had been found, with more discoveries announced every month. (Dioxins, for example, abound in the ash of lightning-produced forest fires.) The oceans, notes Professor Gribble, are the greatest source of organochlorides—seaweeds and ocean micro-organisms produce methyl bromide, chloroform, carbon tetrachloride, and other organochlorides, which are what give the ocean its characteristic smell.

Some organochlorides have been found to be growth hormones, sex pheromones, and pain suppressors. A recent discovery is that the human immune system uses chlorine (as well as bromines and iodine) to halogenate invading micro-organisms—killing them by chemistry. The immune system may use a similar mechanism to destroy fungi and cancer cells as well.

Scientific ideas have consequences. Before chlorination, bacterial diseases like typhus kept life expectancy to about fifty in the West. If the chlorinophobic "environmentalism" embraced by the EPA prevails, life expectancy may start falling again. And the Administration will not be able to blame U.S. health care.

The Scandal du Jour

John H. Dalton, Secretary
Of the Navy, hid a hairy
History of hanky-panky
With an S&L; now cranky
Senators (those who assented)
Flail about as if demented,
Bugging Clinton and the party,
Which is eyeing poor McLarty.

W. H. VON DREELE

NOTES & ASIDES

■ It just struck me, Mr. Buckley . . .

. . . that you might get a chuckle from my commentary, "Tuning Up a Datum." Here's a copy.

Best regards,
Wen Smith
Ashland, Ore.

TUNING UP A DATUM

My neighbor Phil is a grease-monkey by trade,

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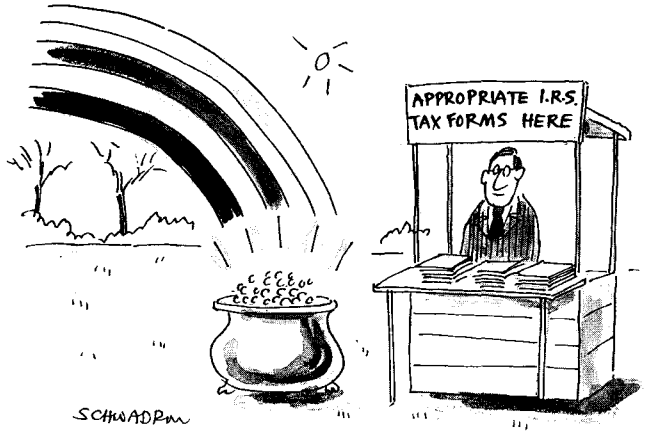

but his ear is almost as sensitive to bad grammar as it is to an engine out of tune. Phil came by yesterday with a copy of NATIONAL REVIEW.

"Bill Buckley is one writer who knows his grammar," Phil said. "Who else knows the difference between *datum* and *data*?"

"I do," I said. "I just don't know the difference between a gear box and a transmission."

Phil gave me a pitying look. "They're the same thing," he said.

"So what's new with William F. Buckley, Jr.?" I said.

"It's the precise way he uses grammar," Phil said. He had the magazine open to a Buckley commentary. "Here he's talking about minorities and crime. He says 66 per cent of black children are born to unwed mothers." [*NR*, May 16.]

"That's not a crime," I said.

"Not my point," Phil said. "Buckley goes on to say, 'This is a datum none of the disputants deny.'"

"Well, he used *datum* correctly," I said. "It's the singular, and *data* is the plural."

"Exactly," Phil said. "I took beginning Latin when I was in high school. But these days I hardly ever hear anyone use the word *datum*. And mostly I hear *data* used as singular. You know, 'The data *is* incomplete.'"

"Well," I said. "Nobody speaks Latin any more, except the Pope—and Bill Buckley. What about his English? Read that line again."

Phil read again from Buckley's article. "'This is a datum none of the disputants deny.' You see? '*Is a datum*.' Perfect grammar."

"But what about the rest of it?" I said. "'None of the disputants deny.' Shouldn't that be 'none . . . denies'?"

Phil looked at the magazine again. His lips moved.

"Didn't notice that," he said. "I guess you're right. "*None* oughtta be singular, meaning *not one*. Should be 'none of the disputants denies.'"

"There you are," I said.

"I should write Bill a letter," Phil said. "Why so careful about Latin and so sloppy about English?"

"Well," I said, "consistency is for little minds. You wouldn't want to hang Bill Buckley with that noose. Anyway, a lot of people use none as a plural today."

"Yeah," Phil said. "I guess none of us are perfect.

"Thanks for the tune-up," he added, and he went home to read the rest of NATIONAL REVIEW.

Dear Mr. Smith: Enjoyable column, nice try, but, alas, no cigar. See below. Cordially, WFB

From the *New York Public Library Style Book*, 1994

None

None can be used with either a singular verb or a plural verb, but most grammarians and style manuals prefer the plural. The old belief that none means "not one" is not true in most cases; a closer look will usually show that "not any" is the thought being expressed in almost every instance.

> None of the reporters were able to interview the defendant.
>
> Television is the chief way that most of us partake of the larger world, of the information age, and so none of us completely escape its influence.
>
> (*The New Yorker,* March 9, 1992)

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Could I ask your view on something that has been bothering me for several years?

Why were Clark Gable, Gary Cooper, John Wayne, Spencer Tracy, Jimmy Stewart, and all of my other movie idols able to make great classic films without once uttering the "F" word on screen?

Several weeks ago I attended a cinema and the "word" was repeated so many times that out at the refreshment stand I absentmindedly asked for a "f------ tub of popcorn, a f------ box of Milk Duds and a f------ medium Coke" and got thrown out of the theater by the manager.

Even cute little Macaulay Culkin gets to say the "word" in his new thriller, *The Good Son*, so what was wrong when I repeated it at the concession counter? Is it realism when an actor declaims it on screen, but a vulgarity when I ask the popcorn girl to "please hold the f------ butter"? Is there some sort of double standard here?

Sincerely,
John Boland
Godfrey, Ill.

P.S. You know Charlton Heston and Tom Selleck, so, if by any chance you also know June Allyson, would you tell her I've loved her forever?

Dear Mr. Boland: What a hell of a f------ question! . . . Sorry, I don't know Miss Allyson, but I understand how you feel about her. Cordially, **—WFB**

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

July 25, 1994

Dear Rusty,

This will have to be a short one. Tipper and I are giving a dinner party tonight, and I'm sitting here on the bed, dressed and ready, waiting for you-know-who to get out of the bath.

We've been giving a lot of dinner parties lately, Rusty. That's not terribly usual for a Vice President, but one day Tipper just up and decided that we needed to "see other people," and she started planning a simple, apolitical dinner party. To be fair, we had been spending an awful lot of time with Bill and HRC, and I've got to be totally honest with you, Rusty, are they ever morose! It's polls this and popularity rating that, and I go blue in the face trying to cheer them up. "I'm still very, very popular," I say, and "Use me more," I exclaim, but when the Clintons are down in the dumps, boy are they down in the dumps!

So Tip decided to give Bill and HRC a breather ("No need for us all to be tarred with the same brush," she said, whatever that means) and set out on her dinner-party program. "As long as I don't have to do any planning," I said, "it's fine with me." Because, Rusty, have I been busy! I spent most of last week trying to get Doug Wilder to drop out of the Virginia race. The latest polls show that he's taking about 40 per cent of the vote away from Chuck Robb, and that means Ollie North may just slip in as the next senator.

Mr. Panetta called me up to the Oval Office. He was sitting behind his desk, formulating policy. Bill and George Stephanopoulos were sitting at a card table in the corner, eating chips and playing "Risk" on a map of the island of Hispaniola.

"Call Wilder," Mr. Panetta said. "Get him out."

"Shouldn't Bill make that call?" I asked.

Mr. Panetta shook his head. "I think it might have more clout if it came from you," he said.

As I dialed the phone, it struck me that Mr. Panetta and Tipper have a very similar philosophy.

"Doug," I said, when Wilder got on the line, "do you want a convicted felon like Ollie North in the Senate?"

"Well, the way I look at it," he drawled, "that'll save us the trouble of convicting him later."

"This isn't funny, Doug," I said.

Bill looked up from his game. "Tell him if he drops out we'll make him special ambassador to Rwanda."

"Doug," I said, "the President has authorized this offer: if you quit the race, he'll make you a special ambassador to Rwanda."

All I could hear was a short, barking laugh, then a dial tone.

"What did he say?" Mr. Panetta asked.

"Ummmm," I said, "he'll get back to us." And I scurried out, to catch a plane for California. As I was on my way down the hall, I passed Dr. Gergen.

"Al, do you have a second?"

"Sure, Dr. Gergen," I said.

"Al, I feel awkward about this, but is there any chance of slipping me onto that guest list for the dinner party you and Tipper are throwing?" I shook my head sadly. I told him that, unfortunately, Tipper had already made up the tables; and anyway she had decreed it a strictly apolitical event—the conversation was to be intellectual, stimulating, off-the-record, and absolutely not about politics.

"But, Al," Dr. Gergen interjected, "you've invited MacNeil, Lehrer, Koppel, Bernie Shaw, Fred Barnes, Leon Wieseltier, Nina Totenberg, Michael Barone, Evans & Novak, Mort Kondracke, Al Hunt, Mark Shields, Paul Gigot, Eleanor Clift, Bill Safire, Michael Beschloss, the prominent presidential historian—"

"Eleanor sent her regrets," I interrupted. "She and HRC are spending the evening with Bill, re-explaining the concept of Universal Coverage."

"Still, Al. It's hardly an apolitical event. It looks to me like you and Tipper are trying to spin yourselves some distance from you-know-who and her husband. You know, grease the press, play the misunderstood intellectual."

"What?" I asked. Dr. Gergen gets weird sometimes.

"Okay, Al, if that's the way you want to play it. Just remember: I won't be here forever."

"I thought you were happy at State," I said.

"Oh, I am," Dr. Gergen assured me. "Until Operation Deep Voodoo."

I had no idea what he was talking about, and I guess it showed in my face.

"Operation Deep Voodoo," he rasped. "Amphibious landing of 4,000 Marines in Port-au-Prince. I can't tell you when, but it'll be roughly 36 hours after I resign. That'll be your clue."

He sauntered off. Strange guy.

Gotta go, Rusty. Tipper's out of the bath and the steward just told me that Maureen Dowd is here early. The life of a VP!

Take care.

Your pal, Al

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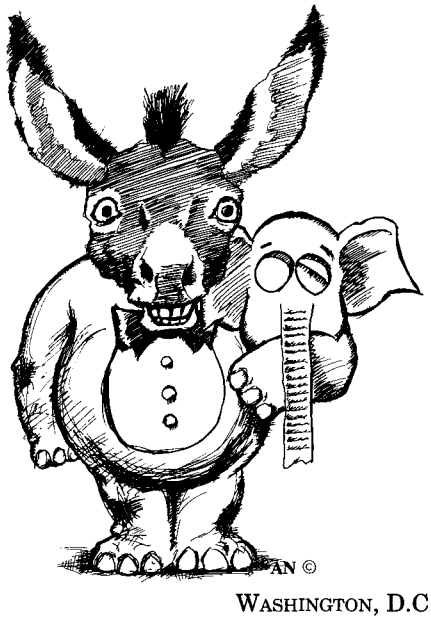
ON THE SCENE

Moderate Blues

RICH LOWRY



Alan Nahigian

WASHINGTON, D.C.

AN AFTERNOON session of the second annual Conference for a Republican Majority focused on "political strategy." Moderating the discussion: Ellen Harley, fresh from a congressional primary loss in Pennsylvania. Another panelist: Dolly Madison McKenna, who has lost both a congressional primary and the race for chairman of the Texas GOP. Sitting on the panel too were Bill Green, who lost his New York congressional seat in 1992, and Julie Finley, a failed GOP candidate for the Washington, D.C., City Council.

If there were any need to confirm that Republican moderates are the most languid faction in American politics (even the Libertarians have Howard Stern), this Washington pow-wow met it.

There were seldom more than seventy participants in the room, some of whom had been told to forget about the $125 registration fee and to please try to bring friends (joked conference chairman Bill Frenzel, a former congressman, on Saturday morning: "While the chairs aren't all filled, what we have is *choice*"). The atmosphere was straight from the Monty Python skit where the Grim Reaper shows up at a dinner party, pronounces all the diners dead, and leaves them to bicker about how they got that way.

"I don't really see why they keep having these conferences and nobody does anything," says Julie Finley, who as chairman of the D.C. Republicans sits on the Republican National Committee. "They should be back in the vineyards. Don't come whining to Washington."

Not too long ago moderates didn't have to complain to themselves in rump groups: they ruled the Republican Party. But since 1964 the GOP's base has moved steadily West and South, and its politics right. The Rockefeller wing was left holding an establishment tradition with neither the ideas nor the energy to fend off an insurgent conservatism.

And the mismatch has only worsened. While a Christian Right with bands of well-organized, dedicated activists sweeps through state party organizations, GOP moderates have been left, as one conference speaker put it, to get "kicked in the teeth."

"We're not organized, we can't raise money, and we're not out in the media making our points," complained Michele Dyson, an unsuccessful congressional candidate in Maryland two years ago, now about to try again.

Efforts are under way to change that. Senator Arlen Specter (R., Pa.) is toying with the idea of running for President under an anti–Christian Right banner, and has formed the "Big Tent PAC" to support "inclusive" GOP candidates and a more "mainstream" GOP platform (i.e., one without an abortion plank). Specter seems willing to pitch considerable energy into the effort—he just completed a weekend swing through California.

"As Senator Specter continues to go around the country, he will gather up troops, to use the Christian Coalition's words," says Susan Cullman, a Republican Coalition for Choice board member. "I think he's looking to take on a leadership role in removing the abortion plank and in defending the separation of church and state."

A longer-standing project is Jim Leach's Republican Mainstream Committee, founded in 1984. The group's tiny Washington staff is working to found state-level organizations to battle with the Religious Right. There are about a dozen of the groups so far, almost all of them in the Northeast.

In Pennsylvania, moderates have actually had some success. Multimillionaire Elsie Hillman poured more than $300,000 into the moderate Republican Future Fund's effort to beat Christian Coalition candidates for the 230-member state committee. Fund-backed candidates generally prospered, although moderates fell well short of a knockout. Pennsylvania Christian Coalition President Rick Schenker, for instance, won his state-committee race despite the roughly $30,000 that he says the opposition spent in his county.

Pennsylvania is the exception, however. Moderates elsewhere just can't get out the troops. Bobbie Kilberg, who lost the nomination for Virginia lieutenant governor to home-schooling advocate Mike Farris last year, estimates she had about 1,300 convention no-shows to Farris's 300. "One guy called to tell me he just couldn't come because his mother-in-law was coming into town," she says. "I just had to laugh because normally when your mother-in-law comes to town you want to get out of town."

The political weakness of the moderates' vision is that they would be bound to alienate evangelical Protestants, who make up a quarter of the Republican coalition. But they're full of ideas on how to replace them. "How many people here have ever gone to an NAACP meeting?" asked pro-choice activist Ann Stone.

"Talk to your education associations," suggested Dolly Madison McKenna. "The Texas Education Association has put out a good book on the extreme Right." She also urged: "Talk

Mr. Lowry is NR*'s national political reporter.*

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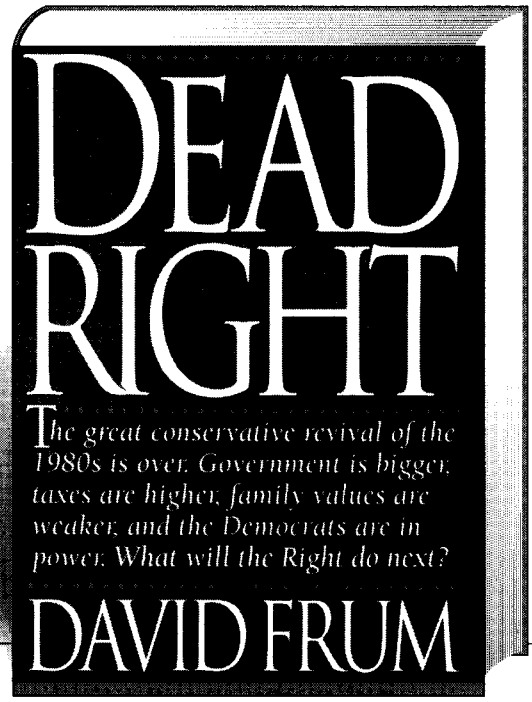
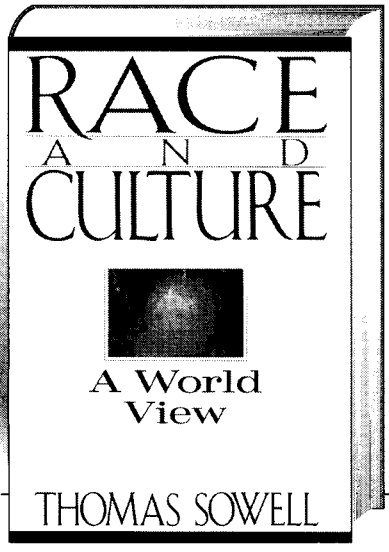

DEAD RIGHT
The great conservative revival of the 1980s is over. Government is bigger, taxes are higher, family values are weaker, and the Democrats are in power. What will the Right do next?
DAVID FRUM

A MAJOR STATEMENT ON RACE, CULTURE, AND THE EXPLOSIVE POLICY ISSUES THAT REVOLVE AROUND THEM

by the noted *Forbes* columnist and author of *Ethnic America*



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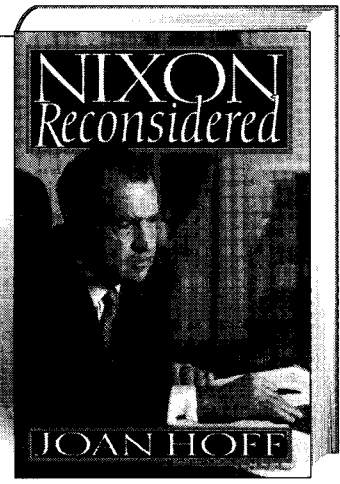

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to the ADL and various Jewish groups. Talk to librarians. They're hit with censorship issues." This makes more sense in reverse as a strategy for Democrats—build from blacks and the NEA to the Ann Stones.

In California, Republican moderates have even taken the next step, and are attempting to enlist Democratic help in intra-party battles. Ron Smith, campaign manager for Tom Campbell in his losing senatorial primary fight with Bruce Herschensohn two years ago, has filed signatures to put an initiative on the spring 1996 ballot for open primaries. "It will get Democrats to vote for Republicans," says Herschensohn. "And they'll only vote for the Republicans who act like Democrats, so I understand any very liberal Republican wanting it."

Such resuscitation attempts aside, Republican moderates essentially don't exist as a movement. They live on as a grab-bag of personalities—Northeastern liberals like William Weld, George Bush true believers like Pete Wilson. Moderate hopes for influencing the national party rest with one of these figures somehow squeaking through the primaries in 1996.

"You don't win the soul of the Republican Party with platform fights," Bill Green told the conference. "You win [it] by nominating a presidential candidate who shares your views." How? Green suggests a mini-convention of moderates next year to endorse a candidate. But such an endorsement could be a liability rather than an asset. (Jack Kemp canceled a luncheon appearance at the conference.)

Out at the Iowa straw poll, meanwhile, aggressive moderate candidates Specter and former New Jersey Governor Tom Kean won 6 and 2 votes respectively out of 1,349 cast. The moderates with the brightest prospects are those who, rather than antagonizing the party's true base, reach out to it—like Senator Paul Coverdell in Georgia and Michael Huffington in California.

Moderates have to accept that while they have something to contribute to the GOP—many of the candidates in the Republicans' string of post-Clinton successes come from their wing—their vision can never define it: the party can't be ideologically denuded, or its coalition will consist of the Conference for a Republican Majority and whomever they manage to pull in off the street on a given day.

In his speech at the Iowa straw poll, Arlen Specter characterized the Texas GOP convention as "wrong philosophically because it defies the basic American principle of separation between church and state." Democrat Vic Fazio said much the same thing: "[The religious Right's] intolerance essentially is a desire to forget there's a separation between church and state." When Specter was read parts of Fazio's remarks (which he had denounced as bigoted) and asked how they differed from his own, he responded: "Well, the reports I read on Fazio were a lot more extreme than that."

No more extreme than what Specter and allies call moderation. □

A Most Uncivil War

ROGER KAPLAN

Konstantin Valov

PARIS

WHEN ALGERIANS leave their country, their most common destination is Paris, which is where I heard what happened to the mayor of Ain-Fezza. (Given the current climate in Algeria, his family would rather I not use his name.) He was a pious man of about 40 whose family had given several martyrs (as they are still called) to the independence cause in the 1954–62 war against France. The family was rewarded with persecution by the victorious FLN (National Liberation Front)—not an uncommon turn of events after the "revolution."

The mayor was elected on the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) ticket in 1990, as the Islamist party, in the country's first multi-party elections, swept town halls across Algeria. Today FIS is joining names like "Hamas" and "Hezbollah" in representing the kind of militant, fundamentalist Islam that is bent on eradicating Western influence from the Muslim world. Divided by doctrinal and leadership rivalries, the movement finds a common inspiration in the notion that the problems of Islamic societies are best addressed by establishing theocratic republics based on the Koranic law.

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl considers radical Islamic regimes armed with ballistic missiles the number-one security threat to Europe, ahead of the potential for "fascism" or spreading anarchy in the East. Many Algerians agree with him. In a demonstration in Algiers on June 29, leaders of the democratic parties called for a war to the end against Islamic fundamentalism.

In this they are going against the tendency of the Clinton Administration, which has indicated that it favors an opening to the "nonviolent" Islamists—to which category the mayor of Ain-Fezza decidedly belonged. To be sure, he entered politics because of what his family had suffered at the hands of the FLN. But he was also disturbed that in the villages that make up Ain-Fezza there was not a single paved road until 1989. Electricity came in 1990. The water system was a fountain built by the French during the colonial period. To get water, you went to the public square with a couple of jerry cans.

The mayor could ask himself: For this my relatives died? To build support, all the FIS had to do was ask people if they felt the FLN had treated them right. It is commonly alleged in Algeria that the personal accounts of the FLN elites in political and military circles are about equal to Algeria's foreign debt.

So men like the mayor of Ain-Fezza were, in a very real sense, the voice of

Mr. Kaplan is editor of Freedom Review.

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the downtrodden masses. The problem is that most frustrated young men in a country like Algeria do not go into politics to get a proper water system for their home town. Most frustrated young men want to make a clean sweep of things, proving their own worth in the process. The effective leaders of the FIS are not local reformers but fanatical preachers and gunmen trained in part with money from U.S. taxpayers. These are the "Afghans," former allies of the *mujahedin*.

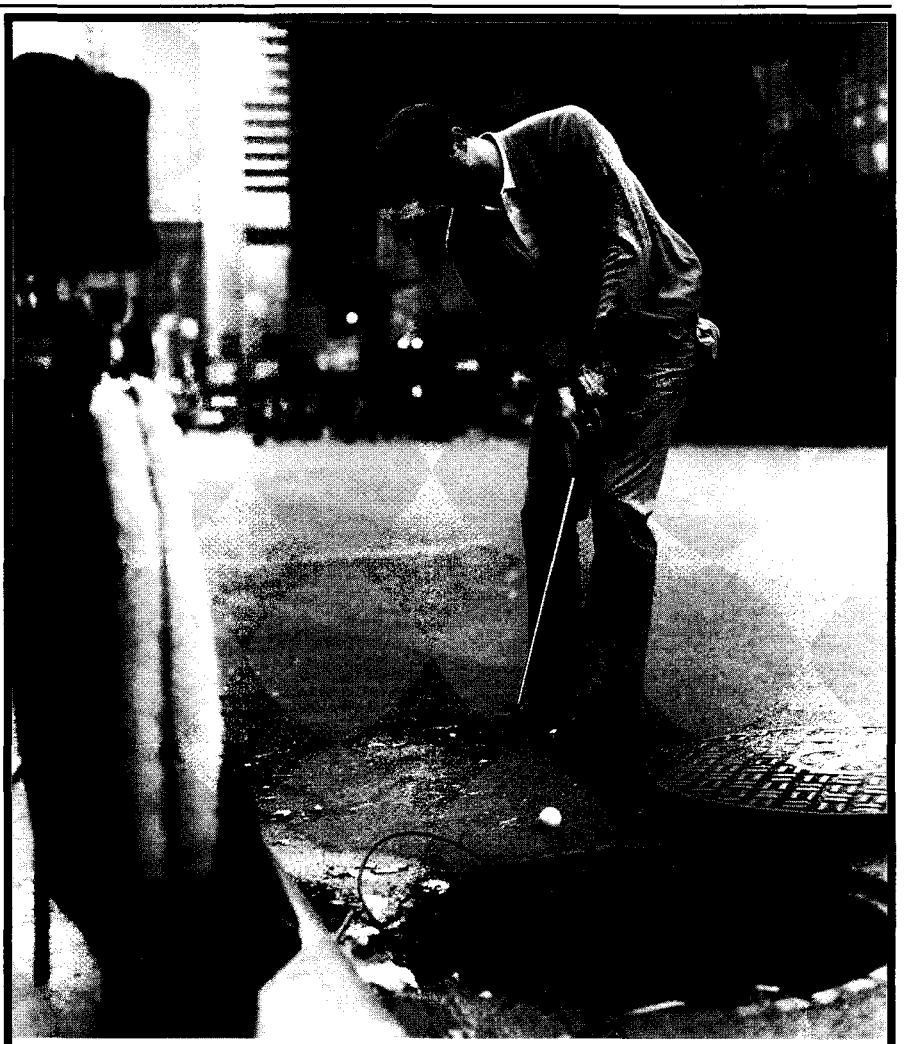
There have been some spectacular shootouts in Algeria's hills and the slums of the big cities. Each time, the army claims it has "cornered the leaders" or "finished off the MIA" (the FIS's armed wing). Each time, the fighting resumes. At present, between three and four hundred people a week are being killed in a civil war that is approaching the Lebanese scale in its savagery.

When it outlawed the FIS in mid-1992, the army allowed Ain-Fezza to stay in the hands of the freely elected Islamists. But the Afghans are not men of water supplies. They ambushed soldiers on patrols, severed their heads, and left them at crossroads. After the last Ramadan, in February, they announced that women without the Islamic veil would be targeted. Secularists said they would retaliate against veiled women. Partly because of such violence, women were among the leaders of the June 29 demonstration, which was attacked with bombs.

In these conditions, the army hardliners, despite the conciliatory gestures of the Algerian president, General Lamine Zeroual, are not inclined to seek Islamists with whom to make deals. They are inclined rather to engage in "exemplary repression."

When you want to make an example, it is always easier to choose reasonable men as targets. The soldiers came for the young mayor of Ain-Fezza at three in the morning. They took him to the village square with four of his relatives and about a dozen others, and shot them all.

It may prove increasingly difficult to find "nonviolent" Islamists for the West to make "contacts" with. Several weeks ago Afghans murdered the president of the Algerian League for Human Rights, an austere, righteous lawyer named Fathallah, in his office



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in central Algiers. It was odd, on the face of it, because he had insisted on fair trials for "terrorist" suspects and had defended quite a few himself. But neither the Afghans nor the soldiers, at this point, believe there is anything anything that can be settled through the rule of law. □

Gun Town U.S.A., Revisited

LUTHER M. BOGGS, JR.

KENNESAW, GA.

IN MARCH 1982, responding to the passage of a handgun ban in Morton Grove, Illinois, and the fawning media coverage that accompanied it, the city council of Kennesaw, Georgia, decided to make a statement of its own. With exceptions duly made for convicted felons, the disabled, and those with religious objections, the council passed (unanimously) an ordinance *requiring* each head of household to own and maintain a gun.

The moment the story hit the wire services, a media invasion swept into Kennesaw, a small city on the northwestern frontier of suburban Atlanta. The telephones of council members began ringing off the hook. CNN called. *Today* called. The then-mayor, Darvin Purdy, went on *Donahue*.

The press reacted predictably. The *Washington Post* issued a mock salute to "the brave little city of Kennesaw, Ga., soon to be pistol-packing capital of the world." In a column titled "Gun Town U.S.A.," Art Buchwald described a place where routine disagreements would be settled in Wild West shootouts. Mayor Purdy declined to talk to the *Post* about his own guns, claiming that "the caliber of my weapons is a personal matter." In the hands of the *Post*'s reporter, Purdy ended up sounding like *Dr. Strangelove*'s General Ripper, the nut bent on preserving his "precious bodily fluids."

"The national media," recalls Chief of Police Dwaine L. Wilson, "made a big shadoo out of it, [but] most of the people in this area already owned some type of firearm." Actually, the media's amazement rang hollow. The press gang expected as much from the rural South. But it is safe to say they did not expect the results.

Today Kennesaw is a burgeoning town of more than 11,000, the population having doubled since 1982. Industrial growth has transformed the former bedroom community into a bustling hub of economic activity. The town built a new wing onto city hall in 1988 and this year bought a new garbage truck and a street sweeper. Tax receipts have soared, Mayor J. O. Stephenson notes proudly, even as tax rates have fallen.

Crime just isn't much of a problem in "Gun Town U.S.A." According to state figures, Kennesaw's per-capita crime rate has remained essentially static (and low) since 1983. The most recent homicide, in 1989, was committed with a knife. The last gun homicide, in 1986, involved two young men from out of state who were staying at a local motel. "A little alcohol," Chief Wilson recalls, "had something to do with it. They were daring one another to shoot each other, so one of them did." Aside from that incident, Wilson says, there have been no problems with "anybody shooting anybody," even by accident.

Mayor Stephenson is proud of Kennesaw and its unique gun law. A businessman who runs his own pest-control firm, Stephenson does his mayoring part-time. The mayor thinks the election of Bill Clinton, "a liberal, Ivy Leaguer type," gave gun-control forces a boost. Clinton may hail from a marginally Southern state, Stephenson says, but "he don't fit the mold of most of us down thisaway." Dismissing the Brady law as "a bunch of hogwash," he says waiting periods "just don't work and [only] make it inconvenient for people like me."

Stephenson fears the slippery slope. "Next year, I'll guaran-damn-tee you that there'll be another bill broadening the number [and] kinds of guns you can't own." I ask him if Kennesaw's gun law would work in, say, New York City. "I don't know, but gun control don't work in New York City either."

A third-generation lawman who worked his way up from patrol duty, Chief Wilson looks the part with his close-cropped hair and robust build. He says people, not guns, are the fundamental problem: "People are going to find ways to kill people if that is what they want to do." The chief doubts the worth of gun buybacks, but he is interested, musing dryly that he's got "several old pieces" he could swap for a nice new pair of tennis shoes.

Over at the Shanty House Country Restaurant, manager Judy Turner flashes a smile when asked about the gun law. "We don't have a [crime] problem like they do other places," she says, because would-be crooks "all know we'll have guns."

No one is more enthusiastic about the law than Dent "Wildman" Myers, proprietor of Wildman's Civil War Surplus. With a .45 holstered on each hip and a bandanna tied around his head, Myers looks like Willie Nelson retired from a biker gang. He sells an eclectic mix of books, memorabilia, war wares, and medicinal herbs. (One shelf of books is labeled "Margrat Mitchell.")

As conspiracists and misanthropes go, Myers seems oddly light-hearted, almost jolly. He hates Bill and Hillary and "Zig-Zag" (Governor Zell Miller); doesn't care for gays, blacks, Jews, or immigrants; mistrusts big business and big government; and figures if AIDS doesn't end the world, "race mixing" will. He thinks baseball is fixed and that William Buckley's "bombasticism" may have resulted from something in his childhood. (As for his own bombasticism, he says, "I've got no excuse.") Genuine and colorful yet hardly representative, Myers is the first guy out-of-town reporters want to interview. He fits the bill.

Just down the street, at Big Shanty Hardware, owner Dave Collier is selling lawnmowers. To Collier, the problem of gun violence is larger than guns. He wonders about all the dysfunctional families, the scarcity of good parenting. "There are some underlying problems in this country that they don't know how to solve," he says.

Twelve years after it began, Kennesaw's experiment in crime control does not present itself as an easy way to arrest the killing in America's streets. It does, however, suggest where the problem doesn't lie. As Mayor Stephenson told a national gun rally in Kennesaw a few years back, "We're the town that proves more guns doesn't have to mean more crime." □

Mr. Boggs is a freelance writer in Atlanta.

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RANDOM WALK

JUST when things seemed as if they couldn't get worse in California, more bad news: *Moody's* has just dropped the state's bond rating for the third time in the past three years. Today California has the worst bond rating of any state not run by Mario Cuomo. With a debt reported (by the *Wall Street Journal)* at $130 billion, California's state and city governments are among the largest borrowers in the world. They are now taking hundred-million-dollar gulps from the credit markets each *month*. The outlook is for another $1.5 billion of red ink next year.

There's a bipartisan consensus in California that the reason for this seemingly never-ending fiscal mess is that deep Pentagon cutbacks have savaged California's industrial base. The consensus is wrong. It's true that real federal defense spending in California has declined by $13 billion—or about 20 per cent—since 1990. But economist Ethan Siegal of Prudential Securities recently did some digging and discovered that "despite the perception that California has been bled by defense cuts, a fairly consistent 12 per cent of federal spending went to the state every year from 1983 to 1992." Siegal shows that since 1987, when the defense drawdown started, total federal expenditures in California have *risen* from $101 billion to $140 billion. And a state hit even harder than California by the shrinking Pentagon budget, namely Virginia, is doing just fine.

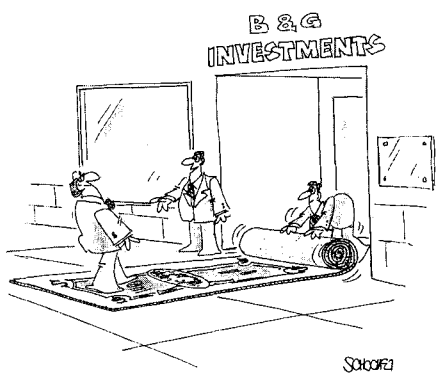
Another explanation is that the real-estate bubble burst. But what *caused* housing prices to collapse? I recently posed this question to Victor Canto of the San Diego–based Laffer–Canto Associates. His answer: taxes. In 1991 Pete Wilson and Willie Brown enacted a mountainous $7-billion income-tax hike. "What the politicians forget is that fixed factors bear the burden of taxation," Canto notes. Mobile factors such as investment capital and people are leaving California. Since 1991 half a million people have fled the state, 600,000 jobs have vanished, and incomes have fallen by roughly 5 per cent. That is a recipe for a depression in the one commodity that can't escape: real estate.

California is a monument to the Laffer Curve. State tax collections have been virtually flat—despite the tax hike—for three years running. Data for the first quarter of 1994 show that nominal tax receipts had actually declined from a year earlier. Across the nation, state revenues were up on average a brisk 7.8 per cent.

So Pete Wilson and the rest of the political establishment find themselves in an uncomfortable position. California's tax code is so out of whack—its top income-tax rate is an insanely high 11 per cent—that the only way to slow the proliferation of red ink, restore the state's bond rating, and bring enterprise back to California is to radically chop tax rates.

For a free "how-to" manual, I suggest a call to Mr. Ronald Reagan in Santa Ynez. He's in the book.

■ First it was Alicia Munnell, assistant secretary of the Treasury, who wrote lustily about the huge cash dividends to Uncle Sam if Congress would just tax the $3-trillion equity build-up in workers' pension funds. Now Labor Secretary Robert Reich and HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros have proposed a policy of "encouraging" pension funds to invest in "affordable housing, and other socially useful public programs."



"Glad to see you again, J.P."

Reich wants to dip into the pensions because "they are positioned like no other force in the American economy to raise incomes and spark new jobs." (Apparently Bob thinks pension managers now stuff these funds under giant mattresses.) As reported in the last issue of *NR*, new Labor Department guidelines would allow pension managers to take account of "collateral benefits" of investments in socially desirable programs.

Former Reagan economic advisor William Niskanen tells me that most public-employee pensions are already required to invest in politically correct projects and "their performance has been dismal." They yield a rate of return roughly 2 to 5 percentage points below private pension funds. Niskanen also shows that because funds based on politically targeted investments have quantifiably lower rates of return, "a larger percentage of the workers' compensation must be set aside to fund the promised pension benefits, thus reducing their pay." In other words, Reich's proposal would not raise wages, it would reduce them.

But just think how socially responsible we'll all feel when our retirement nest eggs are safely invested in Cabrini Green and the New York subways.

■ Joe Mysak was fired as editor and publisher of *The Bond Buyer* back in March, and stories in the *New York Post* and elsewhere had it that entire trading floors at some firms stood up and cheered when Dow Jones broke the news. They can stop cheering. Mysak's new publication, *Grant's Municipal Bond Observer*, debuted June 24, promising to reveal "the secret life of the municipal bond market." The new publication joins Jim Grant's *Interest Rate Observer*, which celebrated its 10th anniversary last year. The new journal, which calls itself "the first English-language national fortnightly for municipal bond buyers and sellers," costs $550 a year. A financial journal in English. Hmm. It just might catch on. —GEKKO

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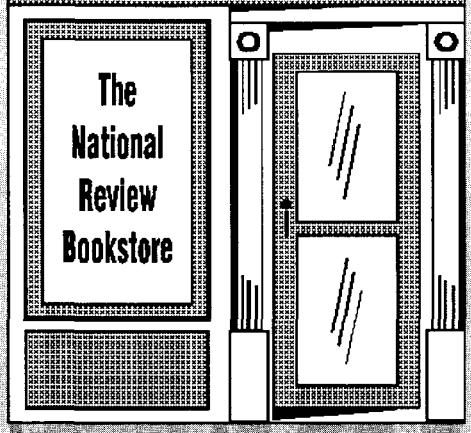

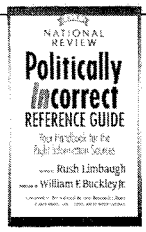

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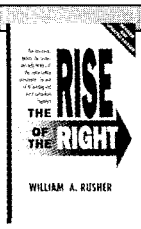

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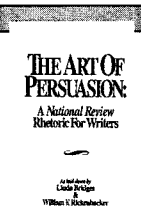

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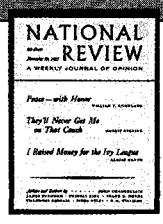

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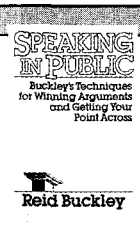

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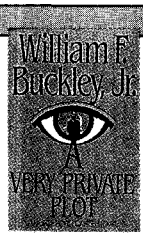

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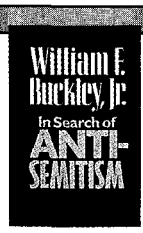

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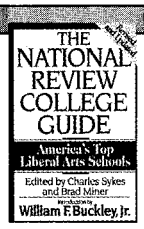
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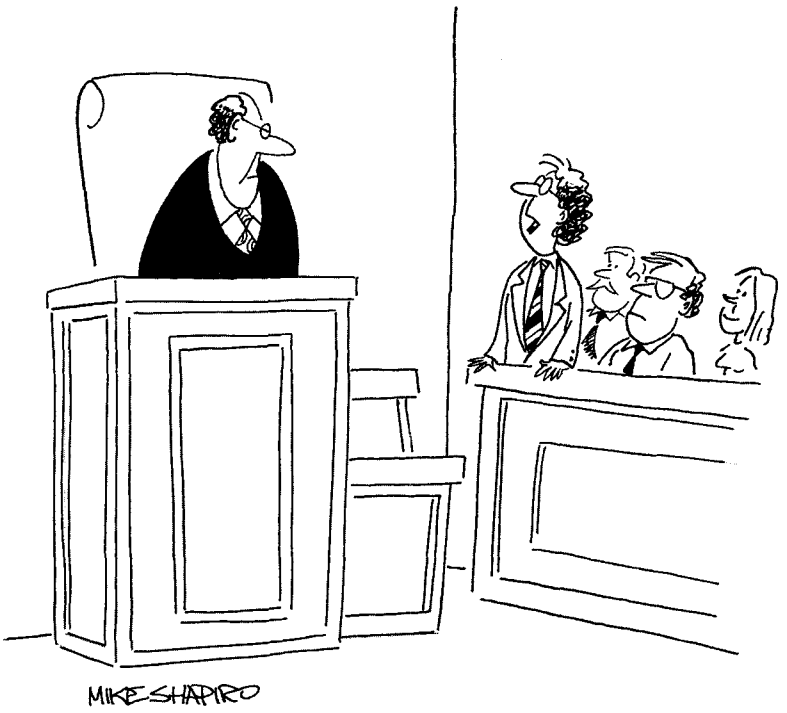

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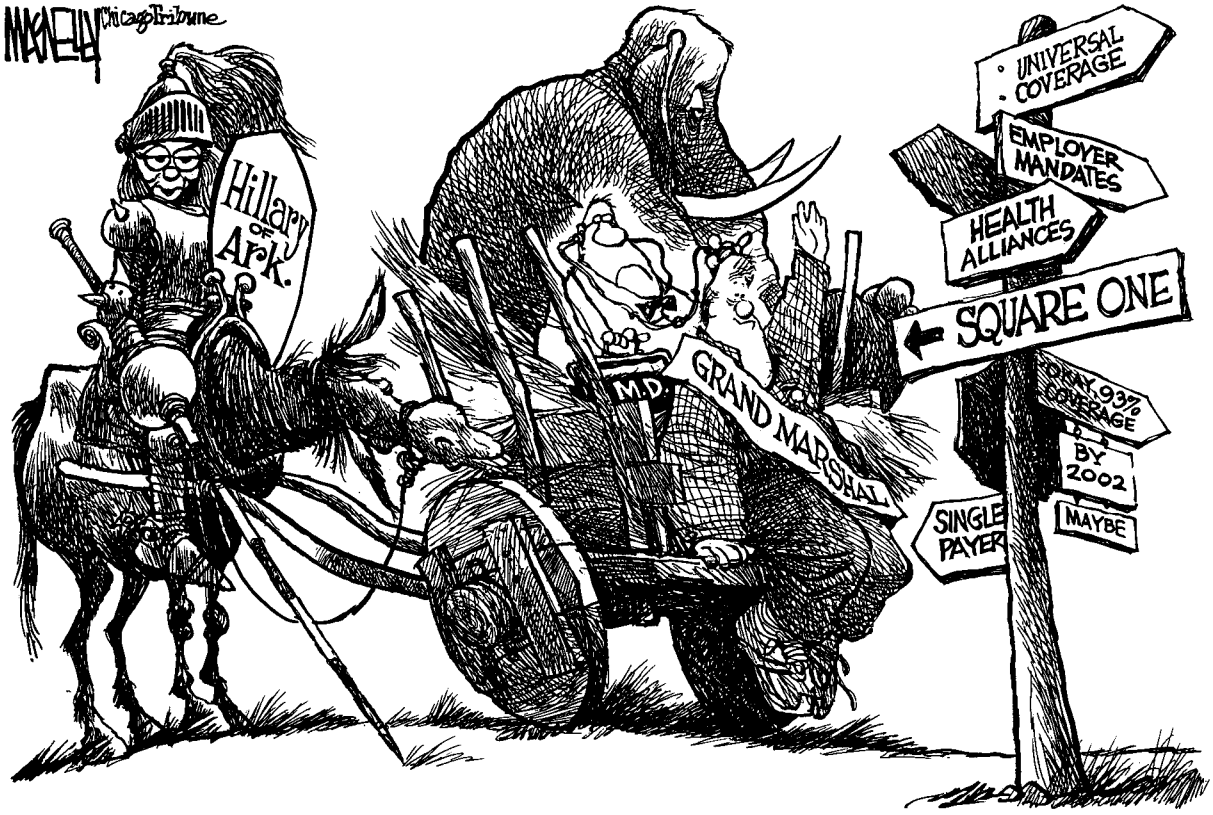

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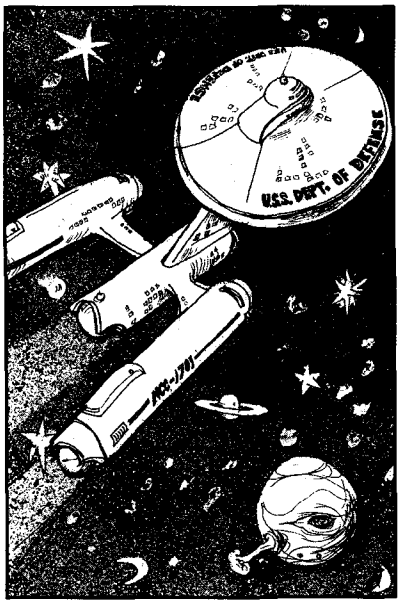

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MULTILATERAL MADNESS

U.S. negotiators are engaged in talks on the ABM Treaty that run in the same old MAD grooves. If they don't become bolder, they will merely help the MADness spread around the world.

LAWRENCE GOLDMUNTZ

FOR A NUMBER of decades the only serious nuclear threat in the world was the one that Russia and America posed to each other. Each responded to this threat by the deterrent threat of mutual assured destruction (MAD)—a policy that left much to be desired, but which nonetheless successfully maintained the nuclear stalemate. On the horizon, however, there is a threat to our allies and to forwardly deployed U.S. forces from states not generally recognized to be reasonable and thus deterrable. This threat, in its most serious manifestations, could materialize in approximately a decade—about the time it would take us to deploy a credible defense system.

In addition to MAD there used to be three approaches to protecting ourselves. Two of the three have now failed, and the Clinton Administration is in the process of compromising the third approach, possibly to the point of destruction.

The first approach was to prevent proliferation by controlling the diffusion of technology. This was to be accomplished by export controls and secrecy. It didn't work. For example, the French sold Iraq a "research" reactor, which was actually intended to produce weapon-grade plutonium. Furthermore, many Iraqi engineers and scientists engaged in their country's nuclear-weapons programs were trained in the West; for example, the head of the Iraqi program, Jaffar Dhia Jaffar, was educated in British public schools and at the University of Birmingham. The emigration of Russian scientists may be another source of proliferating weapon capability.

The second approach was to prevent proliferation by the physical destruction of a threatening weapons program. This was the approach chosen by the Israelis when they destroyed a French reactor on the dock of Marseilles before it could be exported. When France finally succeeded in exporting a reactor to Iraq, the Israelis proceeded to bomb the reactor complex just outside Baghdad. This strategy was sharply criticized at the time, especially by U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. But a more recent Defense Secretary, Dick Cheney, praised the Israeli action, indicating that it "simplified" Desert Storm. Still, there is little chance that the Israeli effort will be emulated by the United States itself. As one American military officer put it, "Such action is not in our kit bag."

By Land, Sea—and Space?

THE THIRD approach is to build the best possible ballistic-missile defense for ourselves and our allies. Yet the budget for ballistic-missile defense has been cut by 50 per cent over the last two years. All space-based options have been essentially canceled; the U.S. will rely instead on anti-missile missiles launched from ground or sea platforms.

The United States' experience so far with surface-to-air missile defense—the Patriot missile system during the Persian Gulf War—was not encouraging. The Patriot system had limited altitude capabilities and could not engage warheads until they had re-entered the sensible atmosphere. Once in the atmosphere, the warheads inadvertently maneuvered, and the tankage broke up, providing a field of decoys. Therefore, the Patriot had difficulty hitting the warhead. It became more of a psychological comfort than an effective weapon.

The new generation of U.S. ground-based anti-missile missiles are designed to engage warheads at higher altitudes than the Patriot—before they can effectively maneuver. But, if the first shot is ineffective and a second anti-missile missile is needed, the engagement would probably be in the sensible atmosphere, where the war-

Mr. Goldmuntz was formerly the executive secretary of the Federal Council for Science and Technology.

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head *could* maneuver. Furthermore, although deploying decoys for short-range missiles is difficult, decoy experts claim that *every* warhead can be decoyed. And the next generation of theater missiles could, shortly after boost, dispense a number of submunitions (smaller warheads making up the payload). Such submunitions—a poor man's MIRV (multiple independent re-entry vehicles)—could overwhelm defenses.

The most effective defense against ballistic missiles is one that destroys the missile during the boost phase, when it is most vulnerable. The problems posed by submunitions, decoys, and maneuvering warheads are then overcome. But boost-phase interception can be reliably accomplished only from space. And this is precisely the option that is now unfunded.

Furthermore, any future development of this option is being bargained away in the discussions with the Russians on "clarifying" the ABM Treaty, signed in 1972. Judging by the route that the Administration is taking in these negotiations, we are giving up precisely the technology that is most likely to prove effective in our defense and the defense of our allies.

A major issue in the negotiations of the U.S.–Russian Standing Consultative Commission is the distinction between theater ballistic missiles and strategic ballistic missiles. The objectives of these consultations are evidently threefold:

1. To preserve the current ABM regime, which limits investment in defenses against strategic ballistic missiles and, presumably, therefore reduces the incentive to build additional strategic *offensive* missile systems.

Under the "clarified" treaty, the U.S. would continue to rely on retaliation—MAD—to deter a major strategic attack. Small strategic attacks against U.S. or Russian territory could be opposed by the limited defenses permitted under the ABM Treaty. (But even these limited National Missile Defenses are essentially unfunded.)

2. To permit the development and deployment of defenses against theater ballistic missiles so long as they could not be used to protect either the Russian or the U.S. home territories against strategic missiles.

3. For all practical purposes to continue the ban on space-based missile-defense systems.

Meeting these objectives will not achieve the fundamental goal of the ABM Treaty: safety and stability at low cost. The threat has changed since 1972, when the ABM Treaty was signed, and so have defense technologies.

1. The immediate threat is from short and medium-range theater missiles targeted against the Russian southern and eastern frontier regions and against American allies in the Middle and Far East.

2. There is an emerging threat from decoys, maneuvering re-entry vehicles, and submunitions dispersed from theater missiles after burnout. These could probably defeat present and planned ground-based missile defenses.

3. The U.S. has recently succeeded in developing some

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components of space-based defense systems that could provide Russia and our regional allies with better protection against sophisticated theater missiles than ground-based alternatives could.

4. Although a Russian–U.S. strategic-missile exchange seems remote, the capability is still there. Increased reliance on mutual defense could lead to additional sharp reductions in strategic offensive missiles; and there is no need to limit defense if it is mutual.

Distinctions with Little Difference

OUR NEGOTIATORS propose to differentiate between strategic and theater ballistic missiles by the re-entry velocities of their warheads. Long-range strategic warheads would be defined as those with a re-entry velocity of 7 or more km/sec; theater ballistic missiles, as those with a re-entry velocity of less than 5 km/sec. This limit is derived from the now outmoded Soviet Strategic Missile, the SS-N-6 (which was assumed to be covered by the ABM Treaty), and from the Chinese CSS-2 (sold to the Saudis as a theater ballistic missile), each with a re-entry velocity of approximately 5 km/sec. Presumably our negotiators intend to permit any theater ballistic-missile defense system to have the capability of intercepting targets with re-entry velocities of up to 5 km/sec. If a system has the capability of intercepting re-entry vehicles with a greater velocity, it would be disallowed for theater deployment.

A defense system's capability would be inferred by National Technical Means, presumably based on observations during the testing phase. This estimate of capability depends heavily on the questionable premise that a theater commander would be loath to use a weapon beyond its tested capability—although this is what we did with the Patriot in the Persian Gulf War.

In fact, a defensive missile broadly capable of intercepting a 5-km/sec warhead could intercept a 7-km/sec warhead under favorable engagement geometries. The number and coverage of favorable engagement geometries increases with the number of deployed theater ballistic missiles. Thus, Russian theater-ballistic-missile defenses, deployed on Russian territory, could well have some capability of attacking strategic ballistic warheads that are re-entering at 7 km/sec, even though the tests were conducted against a warhead with only a 5-km/sec re-entry velocity.

Furthermore, the "clarification" will evidently not limit the *type* of warhead that can be used in the anti-ballistic-missile system. The Russians are likely to use nuclear warheads that have kill radii of approximately 1,000 meters against opposing warheads. In contrast, the U.S. THAAD theater defense system, which uses kinetic energy, must actually *hit* its target to "kill" it. The Israeli Arrow Defense System, with a high-explosive warhead, has a kill range of tens of meters. The U.S. is not likely to arm our missiles with nuclear warheads, and so our defense capability and that which we provide our regional allies will be inferior to the Russians'.

From all this, it seems that the current U.S. negotiating position traps the United States into an asymmetrical ABM posture. The Russians would need many theater defense missiles deployed along their southern and eastern frontiers, and could, as we have seen, use these missiles against strategic missiles. The U.S. needs no theater ballistic defense missiles deployed on its territory (Canada and Mexico are not a threat), and so will have none available to help with defense against strategic missiles. This asymmetry is not crucial at the present level of strategic-missile deployment, since there are enough weapons to punch through these defenses. But the defense asymmetry becomes more important as the number of strategic weapons is reduced below START II objectives.

Furthermore, the proposed approach to "clarification" does not address the most serious evolving theater threats. For example, theater ballistic missiles could deploy chemical or biological submunitions shortly after boost. If the aggressor's objective were to terrorize a civilian target, accuracy of the re-entry vehicle would not be important. It is not unreasonable to estimate that such a threat may appear in about a decade.

Also within the next decade, one can expect that theater ballistic missiles will be capable of deploying decoys and maneuverable re-entry vehicles. Such a development enormously complicates the task of the defense. It was a major factor in our decision in 1972, at the time the ABM Treaty was signed, to rely on Mutual Assured Destruction rather than active terminal defense. Boost-phase defense, which is necessary to counter such a threat, was not technologically feasible at that time.

The boost phase of a short-range (600-km) theater missile lasts for approximately one minute. Thus, boost-phase interception requires very prompt detection of a missile launch—which adverse cloud and weather conditions can make difficult or impossible. If the intercepting missile is ground-launched, it must have extremely high acceleration (15 to 30g over a one-minute period) so as to arrive at the target before burnout. Alternatively, but also with major difficulties, one might depend on airborne or space-borne lasers to deposit enough energy on the missile's boost motor to destroy it before burnout. A third approach would depend on high-performance aircraft—with anti-missile weaponry cued by all-weather sensors—to attack mobile launchers as they were moved from hiding or to attack missiles during boost phase. This airborne approach also has obvious drawbacks. It is not likely that we will be notified of an impending attack, so we must patrol continuously. Furthermore, these aircraft may have to fly over enemy territory and in any case are subject to attack.

Brilliant Pebbles

INSTEAD of attacking offensive missiles with explosive warheads, another approach was to force them to blow themselves up by making them collide with something in mid-course. The first incarnation of this idea was "Smart Rocks"—chunks of solid matter scattered from a heat-seeking missile that could find a

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launched missile and intercept it. A later refinement was called "Brilliant Pebbles." These are small satellites with independent sensors and propulsion that can guide themselves to collide with and destroy theater missiles during launch. These Brilliant Pebbles were initially designed to attack strategic ballistic missiles, whose boost phases last approximately three times as long as the boost phases of theater ballistic missiles. This means that, to counter theater missiles, Brilliant Pebbles would have to accelerate faster and orbit at a lower altitude (with a consequent need of thrust augmentation to overcome atmospheric drag). Preliminary estimates indicate these requirements may be achievable with reasonable modifications of the original design.

It is estimated that 350 Brilliant Pebbles could have intercepted at apogee the most intense Scud attack launched at Riyadh during the Persian Gulf War. It is further estimated that 600 to 800 Brilliant Pebbles could have intercepted these Scuds before any attempt could have been made to launch submunitions. These Pebbles would have been launched in an orbit whose inclination matched the latitude of the launch sites. In a case where launch sites were over a broader range of latitudes, the number of Pebbles would have to be increased, and if the boost phase and the range of the missile were shorter than the Scud's, the number of Pebbles would have to be increased even further. On the other hand, potential increases in the acceleration capability of the Pebbles' rocket motor would tend to decrease the number required.

We have been discussing Brilliant Pebbles as the preferred approach to destroying a theater missile during boost phase. However, they actually have less capability against theater missiles during boost than does a space-borne laser (though greater capability to intercept missiles during mid-course). The drawback to the laser is that it requires a constellation of twelve 65,000-pound satellites. The most practical launcher would be the Russian Energia; otherwise, two Titan 4 boosters would be required to launch components that would be assembled in space. The system would not be available for deployment before 2006, if the development program continued at its previous modest funding level. But even this development budget has been compromised by the House for fiscal 1995. This is clearly a mistake, because its capabilities complement those of the Brilliant Pebble system.

Star Wars

SOME OF THE early spaced-based defenses that previous Administrations proposed seemed far-fetched. For example, nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers were not practical. Detractors coined the phrase "Star Wars." These detractors adopted the ideology that space must not be "weaponized." However, it was already fully weaponized with offensive weapons—the most dangerous weapons ever devised, nuclear-tipped ballistic missiles. Why deny space to the defense?

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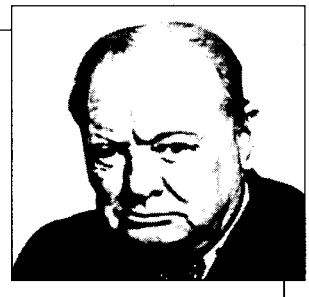

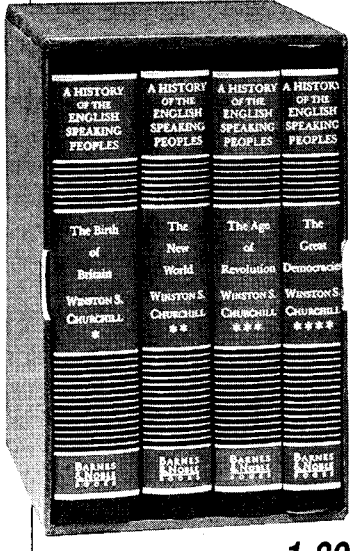
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ater ballistic missile defenses would actually be more expensive than a space-based system. Furthermore, the space-based system is expected to have the additional capability of boost-phase interceptions, which ground-based systems cannot accomplish. Our negotiators "clarifying" the ABM Treaty must not give away the space deployment option.

While theater missiles are not a direct threat to the territory of the U.S., they constitute a threat that greatly concerns our allies in the Middle and Far East—Japan, South Korea, Turkey, Israel, the Gulf States, Saudi Arabia. This threat could decisively limit our ability to form coalitions to help stabilize our interests in those regions. These allies would be inclined to appeasement before exposing their urban populations to destruction. U.S. interests are served to the extent that we can provide the best achievable protection for our allies against modern theater missiles. Such missiles are also a direct threat to Russia, with all the potential for instability that that implies.

A Common Future?

THE U.S. and Russia have defense objectives that are more nearly common than at any time since the battle of Stalingrad. Also, Russian space capabilities are complementary to those of the United States. Their launch capability exceeds ours, and our space-interceptor and satellite capabilities exceed theirs.

Could cooperation on space-based defenses serve the interests of both countries? Could all protected countries be assured that the defense systems would work without the possibility of interference? Could a common defense program lead our allies and adversaries to moderate any inclination to construct offensive ballistic-missile capabilities? Could cooperation between Russia and the U.S. lead to the inclusion of such countries as South Korea, Japan, Turkey, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and even NATO members that may feel threatened by theater missiles from the southern shores of the Mediterranean?

Our negotiators claim that Russia's military leaders are not interested in space defenses at this time. They are operating under severe budgetary constraints. It is also reported that the Russian military is suspicious of any cooperative arrangements with the United States.

Russian fears might be overcome by many techniques. For example, if the Brilliant Pebble defense were deployed only at such an inclination as to defend against launches from Libya, Syria, Iran, and Iraq, it would be incapable of attacking Russian strategic-launch sites.

Should it also be desired to prevent launches from North Korea by such a system, the inclination of the defending satellites would have to be increased, and a small percentage of Russian strategic-launch sites could be threatened. There are some options for handling this by having some degree of joint control of the system. These options must be explored with the Russians before negotiators conclude that Russian suspicion of the U.S. precludes cooperation.

If U.S. and Russian confidence in such a system developed, it could be extended from a mutual defense against theater ballistic missiles to a mutual defense against strategic ballistic missiles launched from sites on the American or the Russian land mass. This is certainly more attractive than a defense posture based on mutual assured destruction. Furthermore, this would obviate the need to build ground-based ABM systems to defend either the U.S. or Russia.

No Band-Aids, Please

THIS SHOULD be the agenda of an energetic and relevant review of the ABM Treaty, rather than the limited and potentially destabilizing Band-Aid now proposed, which only attempts to "clarify" the boundary between theater and strategic ballistic-missile threats.

It seems that the first step in such a process would be for the U.S.–Russian Standing Consultative Commission to study the safety, costs, and effectiveness of a joint space defense as compared to the alternatives. After all, there is precedent for this. The U.S. is now paying Russia, Ukraine, and others to dismantle some of their nuclear warheads.

If, despite offers of U.S. financing, use of Russian boosters, and shared control of the system, the Russians reject a joint space-based defense system, the U.S. has the option of implementing such a system by itself. The first stage could be implemented only to protect our allies against theater ballistic missiles. If the Russians wanted, the system would protect them from any theater ballistic missiles launched from the same sites. Later, the space system could be expanded to provide defense of the U.S. and (again if they were willing) the Russian land mass.

Our negotiators, or the people who give them instructions, should be bolder than they now seem. At the very least, they should not agree to limit research or development in any area that could contribute to missile defense. The needed imagination of our negotiators must be matched by sufficient courage on the part of the Department of Defense and the Congress to fund a space-based missile-defense system.

If we cannot provide a meaningful defense for our allies, the alternative is that it will become clear to those countries that nuclear deterrence is their only defense. We will then have a world of multilateral mutual assured destruction, where Pakistan could destroy or coerce India (and vice versa), North Korea could destroy or coerce South Korea and, perhaps, Japan (and vice versa), and so on for Iraq and Israel, Iran and Saudi Arabia, and others. The stability of the bilateral mutual assured destruction that now exists between Russia and the U.S. would seem blissful, but only by comparison. On the other hand, successful ballistic-missile defenses, especially if they were controlled by both Russia and the U.S., would tend to discourage extensive investment in missile offenses. Take your pick: effective missile defense or nuclear proliferation. □

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NET GAINS

INFORMATION, TECHNOLOGY & CULTURE

Breaking the Box

GEORGE GILDER

WHEN Bill Gates, chairman of Microsoft, declared on live TV this March that he did "not have to take any more of this," got up, and strode away from Connie Chung's cameras, he was symbolically crashing through the media mirror and stepping into a new historic era. A man without a television in his home, Gates in his defiance was offering an omen of an America free of TV within the next five years.

Yes, TV's reign can end that soon. Without giving up any current pleasure or service, all Americans can be emancipated like the Microsoft liberator to spurn the tyranny of the tube. The computer industry is already three times the size of the TV industry and growing ten times as fast. Current projections show that American companies will sell more than 50 million personal computers in 1994, about half of them in the U.S. and some 60 per cent for residences and home offices. Over the last five years the share of computers in the U.S. linked to networks rose from under 10 per cent to over 60 per cent. During the next five years, the capacity of those connections can rise at least a thousandfold, allowing PCs to summon digital films and files of news, art, and multimedia from around the world. The television cable can become a computer connection. The personal computer can rule American culture as decisively as broadcast TV has ruled it for the last forty years.

The downfall of the liberal media, the rout of the rodent kings of the networks, the overthrow of Ken Auletta's "three blind mice" gnawing at the pillars of civilized life in America—what, one might wonder, could be sweeter news for conservatives?

Yet many conservatives are strangely ambivalent. They share the view of the existing broadcasters that the more power wielded by customers over what they can see the worse the programming will be. In this view, the boob tube will give way to what H. L. Mencken might have termed a new Boobissimus, as the liberated children rush away from the network nurse, chasing Pied Piper pederasts, snuff-film sadists, and other trolls of cyberspace.

Affirming these fears, NBC's prime panderer, Phil Donahue, asserts with relish: "The information highway will have a lot of sex." In late January he presented James Erlich of ICFX, the developer of Penthouse Interactive, showing off a future technology in which a viewer with a click of the remote could capture himself on screen jousting with the virtual software of a Penthouse "pet."

Is this the future of mass media—more brutal and banal and salacious TV? Or is it Bill Gates's vision of arts and letters and encyclopedias and empowered citizens visiting the wonders of the world without leaving their homes? The issue will be vital to the prospects for capitalism, for we live and work in our technologies, in our phones and TVs and computers, as much as we do in our homes and schools and neighborhoods.

On both the Left and the Right, television culture has long been the main exhibit for the case against capitalism. John Kenneth Galbraith, E. J. Mishan, Christopher Lasch, Barbara Ehrenreich, and Robert Bellah on the Left all land their most crushing blows merely by pointing to the obvious crudeness of mass advertising and entertainment. Pope John Paul II, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and other titans of the age point to the crass pandering of broadcasters and the commercials that sustain them and the consumer culture that feeds them as the supreme evidence for the essential vanity of a Western "cult" of individual freedom. Indeed, even the most fervent supporter of enterprise may well blanch before the sort of entrepreneurial mind that capped this spring's Nielsen-ratings race with a contest of Can You Top This? in which one network responded to the Menendez brothers on Court TV by offering up an interview with Charles Manson posing as a born-again Barabbas, and another countered with Jeffrey Dahmer, poignantly pondering his troubled childhood.

SUPPORTERS of capitalism must come to terms with the essential truth of the case against U.S. commercial TV—and even acknowledge the obvious superiority of public programming in both the U.S. and Europe. Under the sway of television, democratic capitalism enshrines a Gresham's law: bad culture drives out good, and ultimately porn and pruriency, violence and blasphemy, prevail everywhere from the dimwitted "news" shows to the lugubrious movies. As can be seen by anyone unblinded by libertarian dogma, no culture can long endure if its average citizen spends between four and seven hours a day

Mr. Gilder, the guest editor of this special section, is a fellow of the Discovery Institute in Seattle and the author of Life After Television *(revised paperback edition, Norton, 1994).*

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gripped in passive contemplation of such stuff.

Boobissimus has already laid waste a generation of American youth, who have slipped to the very rear ranks of the industrial world in academic and intellectual achievement and leapt into the lead in violence and bastardy. Now, impelled by the still more far-reaching Kultursmog of direct broadcast satellite technology, Boobissimus is preparing to lay waste the rest of civilization as well.

Like Randall Jarrell, many a conservative thus finds himself with a "Sad Heart in the Supermarket." Soon after writing that lamentation, Jarrell stepped out on one of the superhighways financed by Albert Gore Sr.'s National Defense Highway Act and was run over by a truck. Many of us bear similarly sad hearts before the new information superhighway being rhetorically promoted by Al Gore Jr. We fear Boobissimus will rule the superhighway as it rules the mass media.

These fears, however, feed on a mistaken notion of the nature of mass man and mass culture. The information superhighway in fact is nearly a perfect antidote for Boobissimus. It promises to revitalize capitalism and culture in the U.S. and around the globe and to retrieve the hopes of a conservative era in politics.

TV is a boob tube not because the people are boobs but because it is a broadcast technology. Any broadcast medium, by definition, concentrates intelligence and control at the center. The nature of the technology dictates that the receivers be dumb terminals, or even idiot boxes, that make no demands on the user and that restrict him to a small selection of programs. As Nicholas Negroponte of MIT's Media Lab has pointed out, despite all the talk of interactivity and digital intelligence today's TV is still dumber than an airport urinal that can detect your presence at the stall.

The personal computer championed by Bill Gates is the opposite of this reductionist broadcast technology. Where television technology is essentially centralized—a tool of tyrants—computer technology amplifies both the intelligence of its owners and their power to choose and create.

Impelling the expansion of computer and networking technology are two exponential laws. Microchip technology is ruled by the law of the microcosm: Take any number n transistors and put them on a single sliver of silicon, and you get n^2 performance and value. Over the last thirty years, the number of transistors on a chip has doubled every eighteen months, yielding a millionfold rise in cost-effectiveness. Today's multimillion-dollar supercomputers inexorably become the pocket appliances of tomorrow.

This computer technology is now converging with communications technology. Networks feed on the law of the telecosm: Take any number n of computers and connect them in networks, and you get n^2 performance and value. The advance of networks is now even faster than the onrush of computing power.

Over the last five years, the network of networks known as the Internet has grown at a pace of 15 per cent a month; it now reaches some 20 million computers. The spearhead of the new era is electronic mail, on the verge of expanding to video or multimedia mail. When last estimated, there were 42 million active users of electronic mail around the globe, including nearly 30 million in the U.S., but the numbers were rising too fast to trust.

Within the next ten years, this explosive technological advance in both networks and processors virtually guarantees that the personal-computer model of distributed intelligence and control will unseat the emperors of the mass media and blow away the TV model of centralization. The teleputer—a revolutionary PC of the next decade—will give every household hacker the productive potential of a factory czar of the industrial era and the communications power of a broadcast tycoon of the television age. Broadcasting hierarchies will give way to computer heterarchies—peer networks in which the terminals are essentially equal in power and there is no center at all.

WHEN the center cannot hold, one might wonder, with Yeats, "what rough beast . . . shuffling its slow thighs . . . slouches toward Bethlehem to be born." It is centralization, however, that feeds the monsters of mobocracy and the mobcult of television.

Disguising this tendency for many years was the persistent influence of TV's sources in the more local and specialized culture of books and theater and the moral capital of an era before

Encounters in Cyberspace

A sampler of postings from the NR/*Heritage network Town Hall, selected by Brenda Becker.*

From BBECKER
04/10/92

Mike reports having been dubbed by a college professor as "to the right of Heinrich Himmler." I was dubbed by a former boss as "to the right of Genghis Khan."

So, an informal survey: Whom have you been placed by ideological adversaries to the right of?? The answers may make an interesting rogues' gallery, not to mention a curious collage of what liberals picture as "conservative" . . .

From KKUSHNER
04/10/92

When I was in graduate school in Texas, I was described as "to the right of Mengele"; I was also described as a "self-hating traitor to the gender" because I refused to acknowledge that George Gilder was the Anti-Christ for writing (I think) *Sexual Suicide*.

From GHOPP
04/11/92

How about "to the right of Attila the Hun"? I still think the best thing that happened to the Anglos was an influx of moderate Saxons in circa 450. (grin)

From BSARACINO
04/12/92

My two proudest have been Torquemada and Pius XII . . . and well, if I am, someone's got to be . . . right?

From BBECKER
04/12/92

I suggest we start a line of T-shirts depicting all our "to the right of" candidates . . . printed on the left side of the shirt so that the wearer would literally appear to be to the right of the nefarious character. Surely the hottest selling item since the Adam Smith necktie!

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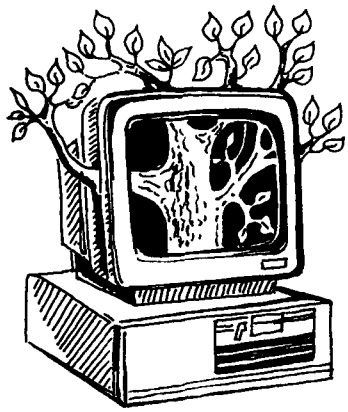
mass media. Nonetheless, any broadcast medium, appealing to miscellaneous crowds at a single time, ultimately must reduce its audience members to their lowest common denominator of tastes and responses.

What do we have in common? Well, we share a number of ideals and aspirations. But we share them in different idioms and accents. A richer and easier target by far beckons to the programming entrepreneur in our prurient interests, our morbid fears and anxieties, our ambivalent dread of violence and suppressed longings for it, our hunger for sexual images and fantasies, all the undertow of lusts and rages and derangements that it is the prime goal and glory of civilization to overcome.



This means commercial television is necessarily the enemy of civilization. If it tries to target special human interests and aspirations, TV must ultimately fail. In any particular crowd of viewers, there are not enough high-church Catholics, or ham-radio hobbyists, or quantum physicists, or rose gardeners, or libertarian intellectuals to sustain a program. To reach an adequate market, mass broadcasts almost necessarily must pander to prurient interests and morbid fears and anxieties.

Check into a hotel in America today. There on the bureau is the inevitable TV and the nearly inescapable Spectravision box. Some 37 channels of miscellaneous midden, 6 "blockbuster" movies, and 2 offerings of hard- or soft-core porn beckon the tired traveler. The Hollywood hits begin at inconvenient times and end deep into the night. The 37 channels are all in progress and none are just what you want. Zapping through the gauntlet, you tend to stop at the most arresting images—the smoking gun, the hurtling car, the nude breast, the crashing fist, the splash of blood. Even the eloquent Republican congressman on C-SPAN discussing the flaws in the financing scheme for Clinton's health-care plan may well not suffice to pull you away from the arms of Miss April on the beach in Aruba.

Any mass-media or broadcasting regime rides an inexorable gradient toward the gutter. But by changing radically the balance of power between the distributors of culture and the receivers of culture, the teleputer will forever break the broadcast bottleneck. Potentially there will be as many "channels" as there are computers connected to the global network. In essence, this means one channel for each person, which he himself programs and controls and which always offers his very first choice. The creator of a program on a specialized subject—from Canaletto's art to chaos theory, from GM car transmission repair to cowboy poetry, from Szechuan restaurant finance to C++ computer codes—will be able to reach everyone in the industrialized world who shares the interest. Artists will be able to command a large audience without catering to lowest-common-denominator tastes.

People in a crowd, as Ortega y Gasset explained in his masterpiece, *The Revolt of the Masses*, are mostly boobs. But in their first choices—in their individual tastes, hobbies, career aspirations, educational goals—people show huge diversity and higher refinement. Of course, individual tastes and interests can also veer toward the depraved and self-destructive. There is no doubt that this fare will thrive on computer networks as it does in today's mass media; sin and perversion we will always have with us. But the key to the culture is not its perversions but its aspirations and opportunities for distinction. By refracting the mass media into myriad media, the teleputer will open the way to floods of new programming.

Those who think that there are too many channels already should imagine entering a bookstore with just 37 or 50 or even 500 books and magazines. In a bookstore, in contrast to a TV, you do not expect to settle for what is on the counter; you expect to get your first choice. Not only would the sparse bookstore normally fail to give you your first choice, it would offer an extremely misleading notion of American print culture.

To understand the future of computer culture, one need only contemplate one of the new super-bookstores such as Books-A-Million, Borders, or Barnes & Noble, which are rapidly gaining market share in the book trade. Or as Bill Gates has suggested, imagine "a Library of Congress" where all the publications are instantly and randomly reachable from your desk.

In variety, morality, and substance, the first-choice arena of text culture differs radically from reductionist broadcast culture. Some 55,000 new trade books are published every year, together with many thousands of magazines and other publications. About half the trade-book market is religious books, a $2.5-billion business. Over the last several years, for example, some 1.3 million copies of the Christian novels of the nineteenth-century Scots novelist George Macdonald, who inspired C. S. Lewis, were sold in America. Beyond religious and inspirational literature, science tomes, technical manuals, career education, and a variety of literature—from porn to piety—also sell heavily.

The best-seller list is not a good index of the real book culture of America. Much of it is an offshoot of Boobissimus. Half the nonfiction best-sellers are written by or for TV and movie stars who gain monopoly rents because of the capital costs and distribution bottlenecks of old media technology. Moreover, the best-seller lists entirely omit the religious books that account for half the market.

THE NEW multimedia culture will afford a huge new range of variety. Teleputers will allow many of the fifty thousand screenwriters who now queue up before the Hollywood bottleneck instead to reach substantial audiences around the world not by pandering to mobs but by appealing to special interests and passions.

Providing a harbinger of the change is talk radio. The most important development in politics since the retirement of Ronald Reagan has been the rise of Rush Limbaugh, whose heroic energy and forensic flair have transformed AM radio into a counterforce to the monolithic liberal dominance of TV. In a primitive form, talk radio has three of the features that the teleputer will soon lend to multimedia and video: interactivity, low costs, and numerous local outlets.

The impact of information super-

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A HEALTH CARE REFORM PROPOSAL

If the time has come for a federal health care program, why not pattern it after Social Security? It is far and away our most popular government program. To emphasize the similarity to Social Security we could even name the new program Medical Security.

Social Security is really a very simple program. Congress sets the amount of the old age pension and levies a payroll tax just sufficient to pay for the pensions. The Social Security Administration keeps the records and sends out the pension checks. I propose that Medical Security be handled the same way. Congress sets the medical benefit, levies a payroll tax to pay for it and the Social Security Administration sends a check to every American (man, woman and child), on his birthday. It is very convenient that Social Security already has the name, address and date of birth of most citizens.

Before considering the Medical Security program in more detail, let us reflect on what people want from health care reform. Many people in Washington think we want the government to manage our health care. What we really want is to divorce our medical care from our jobs and give all Americans access to complete medical care. These politicians have forgotten that Social Security does not spend our old age pensions. They simply mail the checks; and since our senior citizens paid the Social Security tax all their working lives, they do not think of their pensions as government charity. Under Medical Security we can do for medical care what Social Security has done for old age pensions.

Setting the amount of the Medical Security benefit is a political decision to be made by Congress. We can, however, make a reasonable estimate of the amount of the benefit. The cost of medical care is strongly dependent on age and the amount of the benefit would have to vary with age. For people over 65, we have firm data, since the 1995 budget allocates $152 billion for Medicare. This comes to $4200 for each person over 65. Younger people have lower medical costs but exactly how much lower is difficult to assess. One clue is that Tennessee pays $1300 per person to insure Medicaid patients with private insurance companies. I suggest that for our example we choose the more conservative estimate of $1700 per person under 65. This would result in a national average benefit of $2000 per person.

Based on this average cost of $2000 per person, the total cost of Medical Security would be $480 billion. Fortunately, we can start with the $242 billion in the 1995 budget for Medicare and Medicaid. These programs will be terminated with the beginning of Medical Security. The remaining $237 billion can be raised by increasing the payroll tax on employees from 7.65% to 11.4%. Employers will have an identical increase in their payroll tax. The net effect on labor cost will be an increase for employers who do not furnish a health care benefit. Those who do give health care will have a lower labor cost because health care can cost as much as 12% of payroll. It is clear that Medical Security will level the playing field for employers in the area of health care.

In summary, Medical Security will provide an annual check to every American on his birthday. The amount of the check will vary with age, but will average about $2000. This should be sufficient to purchase medical insurance coverage at least as complete as Medicare plus prescription drugs. The Social Security Administration will mail the benefit checks so no new government department will be needed for Medical Security.

The Medical Security program includes the things people want most from health care reform while it avoids the disadvantages that seem to be inherent in all socialized medicine programs.

1. It is universal. Every American will receive enough money to purchase first class medical care.

2. It is portable. Medical care will no longer be dependent on where we work or where we live.

3. It allows freedom of choice. Each individual can choose his doctor, hospital, pharmacist and insurance plan. Those who object to medical care on religious grounds will not be forced to pay for it.

4. It avoids the rationing and delay of medical care that are found in Canada and England.

5. It avoids having the government mess with the best medical care in the world.

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highways will be vastly more powerful. Within the next five years the entire American economy is going to be reshaped around these new digital networks. Telecommuting, teleconferencing, telemedicine, teleputing will change from buzzwords into the basic fabric of business and life.

In politics, the teleputer will break the bondage of public opinion. As Walter Lippmann showed some sixty years ago, public opinion is mostly a myth. People do not truly hold enduring opinions on most of the subjects on which they are surveyed. Unlike votes, opinions are not even remotely equal, as polls assume. Knowledgeable views are incomparably more significant than the statistical figments of bogus majorities. On most issues, the public en masse possesses not opinions but impressions. Evoked by the media in league with politicians, these impressions are echoed by the pollsters' questions, which therefore tend to trigger the desired response. Ross Perot's instant-TV interactive-town-hall concept was a virtual parody of existing mass politics, keeping the most crucial power—the definition and framing of the issues—in the hands of the czar of the net.

TV will soon expire and transpire into a new realm of real communities rather than reductionist masses and majorities. Using the on-line services that link to the increasingly global Internet, people no longer have to look for love, affinity, or political allies in all the wrong places. Perhaps as an omen, Limbaugh is said to have found his new wife on Compuserve. On the *NR*/Heritage Town Hall, conservatives can communicate with others across the country and around the world. They need restrict themselves no longer to the group at the pub or the park or the families at a local church.

The Internet has already made this era a golden age of letters. The future of media will see the further ascendancy of the word. As screens improve their resolution they will increasingly compete with paper as a high-contrast, flicker-free vessel for text. Great cities will hollow out, as the best and brightest in them retreat to rural redoubts and reach out to global markets and communities. The most deprived ghetto child in the most blighted project can escape the local demagogues who hold him down and can gain educational opportunities exceeding those of a suburban preppie today. Families will regroup around the evolving silicon hearths of a new cottage economy.

Contrary to reductionist polls and media, conservatives already dominate the real culture of the society. Conservatives account for some 80 per cent of the entrepreneurs who generate the overwhelming bulk of the nation's wealth and pay the huge majority of taxes. Conservatives account for perhaps two-thirds of the married men whose labors in the provider role are the productive heart of the national economy. Liberals dominate the parasite classes—the broken families, the litigious Left, the hedonist criminals and pushers, the educationist child abusers, the Planned Parenthood condom hawkers, the guilt-ridden heirs, the bureaucracy pimps, the foundation flakes, the mush peddlers of the academy and the welfare state, and the pied pipers of the mass media.

TV has substituted the values and visions of Washington and Hollywood for the real facts and faiths of America. Intellectuals have so forgotten how real cultures and communities work that they often confuse the passive experience of being in a mass audience with the active experience of partici-

Encounters in Cyberspace

These postings were made during the L.A. riots.

From JMAYER
05/01/92

It is starting to look like Beirut here tonight. Non-stop TV news coverage . . . Seems like the looters are driving around with TVs in their cars, and when Channel 2, 4, 5, 7, 11, or 13 calls out another location, boom! the place becomes a circus. . . . The City of L.A. is under a dusk to dawn curfew, but the newscopters show lots of cars driving around, and looters everywhere.

From DSKINNER
05/01/92

Tonight's *MacNeil/Lehrer* was a dilly. Their conclusion was basically the country is a fragmented mess—mostly the fault of white intransigence.

From the reactions I experienced at work, I think people are not going to buy the old '60s line of collective responsibility. Most seemed to clearly identify the actors in this morality play and their roles. Most seemed to understand the nature of the violence and its total disjunction from "oppression." But when I got home and flipped on the tube, there was Jim Lehrer, still peddling the old wares . .

From KKUSHNER
05/01/92

Nothing justifies what has happened in L.A. . . . But as conservatives, we have to take a good hard look at WHY there is so little regard for the rule of law, WHY it is widely assumed by so many that trial by jury will not result in justice, and WHY a large segment of the urban population seems to feel that the authorities to whom the monopoly use of force has been granted fail to exercise the responsibility that should accompany such a monumental grant. Pointing fingers at posturing clowns does not get us out of this one.

From BBECKER
05/01/92

King's a sleazeball, and as Terminator says, "He'll live." But the IMAGE OF COPS BEATING A PRONE BLACK, IN A LEISURELY MANNER, is as charged as pinning a yellow star on a Jew. It is electric with painful resonance. But not, of course, for the looting a**holes, who probably couldn't spell "Martin Luther King Jr.," much less quote him.

From DGILMORE
05/02/02

My feelings on the black anger and resentment?

They really rage at that which they cannot reach—our hard hearts. It isn't the govt's indifference to them, it's our own (personal) indifference that should be assailed. Most of us who have ideas and resources which could be used to help make a difference simply do not have them and their misery on our list of priorities. They cry racism but could rightly use the words selfishness and indifference.

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pating in a real community. Thus, on the basis of evidence from the tyranny of television, they sink into pessimism about the future of democracy.

Ken Auletta declares that the networks are all we have as a "national church." In a sense he may be right. But it is a bogus church that reduces its worshippers to boobs. As Richard Vigilante answers, conservatives should "thank God" for the chance to disestablish this false church and restore the real life of Americans. Participation in a community is not a passive posture; it is an active commitment. The computer culture will blow away the façade of TV and allow the conservative Americans who sustain the economy once again to realize that their private lives make up the real culture of an America that can survive and prosper. □

Traffic Jam

WILLIAM LETWIN

WHEN Vice President Gore unveiled his scheme for an Information Superhighway, to be built with aid from the Federal Government, applause broke out all over. Everybody likes information and superhighways, so what could be better than a combination of the two? Since its birth in January, Gore's scheme, charmingly described as a "new policy vision," has attracted less criticism than any of the Administration's big initiatives, and much less than it deserves.

For one thing, the scheme silently and wrongly assumes that the U.S. as yet lacks an information superhighway. In fact the country is already covered by a network of information superhighways that carry great volumes of sound, data, and images from anywhere you can mention to anywhere else. The core of that network is made of optical fiber (which transmits information by pulses of light), augmented by co-axial cable, radio links, and satellite links. It belongs to private companies, which built it without government subsidies. So two questions spring to mind: Why should the existing information superhighways be upgraded to super-superhighways? And why, if upgrading is desirable, should the government invest taxpayers' money in it?

The argument in favor of upgrading is that the new network will be able to move information faster and more widely. Moving information faster presents no technological problem. Optical fiber is like a pipeline: the broader it is, the faster stuff will flow through it. But the problem with a speedy information superhighway is just like the problem with a real superhighway: your car belts along the beltway until it hits the inevitable traffic jam on the side streets.

In the information network, the crowded side streets are the so-called local loops, the pairs of thin copper wires that connect the phones in most homes and workplaces to the telecom superhighways. Local loops can carry voice and digital data but cannot carry information that comes in larger lumps, such as television or high-resolution images. The obvious way to cure that difficulty is to replace the copper-wire pairs with optical fiber. That is quite a project for a country with a hundred million or so residential units and another hundred million offices, factories, and places where people work or gather. At a conservative esti-

Mr. Letwin is the author of The Origins of Scientific Economics.

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mate, laying fiber to all those places would cost about $50 billion. The less obvious cure is to attach a clever computer to each copper-wire pair; this solution is in the experimental phase and nobody yet knows whether it will cost any less than installing cable to the house. Be that as it may, widening the main pipelines will be largely wasted if in the end the flow is blocked by tiny funnels.

Now, assuming as I do that suppliers of information services will make the necessary investment if they believe that users will pay the cost, why should the government invest large sums to subsidize research and development? The clear answer is that it should not. When a government provides R&D grants, it cannot avoid choosing among competing applications. But there is no reason to suppose that government officials are especially skilled at "picking winners," and there is solid evidence that they often pick big losers. The British government's enormous investment in the supersonic airliner, Concorde, is one example; the Japanese government's investment in developing bigger mainframe computers just when they were being driven into extinction by minicomputers and personal computers is another [see "Let Freedom Ring," p.45]. In the absence of government intervention by selective funding, competition among companies filters out the less satisfactory solutions, and the cost of failure does not fall massively on taxpayers. The sweetener of public investment in the Gore package should be rejected as worse than useless.

GORE'S superhighway would be able to deliver to every American something like a million times more information than she or he gets now. That would certainly solve the Freedom of Information problem. Every evening every citizen could get a copy of every piece of paper generated that day in every government office. In a flood like that, people would drown. Being informed is a matter not of having loads of information but of getting just the relatively few bits one wants; quality rather than quantity is what counts. Even with the data banks that are easily accessible today, the art of constructing them and using them is the art of selection, or, as the experts say, of "retrieval." Roughly speaking, the more information you get, the harder it is to use. Besides, a lot of what passes for information is either misinformation or disinformation. So Gore's package should carry a surgeon general's warning: "Excessive information can injure your brain."

But, of course, Gore's package is not really about information. It is really intended to usher in the brave new age of "interactive multimedia services." Described pedantically, a multimedia facility can transmit sound or pictures or text, or any combination of them, down the same line into a television receiver or computer. Described poetically, multimedia will mean videophones, shopping by phone (with the TV screen showing you models wearing the clothes or sitting on the chairs you're thinking of buying), and any number of similar marvels. Of course multimedia is really a new name for products as old and common as talking pictures (formerly "talkies," now "movies") or television.

More novel and exciting is the notion of interactive multimedia services. This means simply that the person receiving a multimedia service, no longer a passive spectator, can answer back or even take charge of the performance. In one unsophisticated version, the "computerized corner shop," the screen shows pictures of today's fruits and vegetables, and the customer places an order by touching the right parts of the screen. In a more sophisticated version, Sega's "Double Switch," a film starts and the viewer is then able to alter the plot to get the desired outcome. Many more applications of interactive multimedia services are being devised, and some of them will inform, amuse, or educate enough willing buyers to become commercially successful. But that is still a long way off. Because it is, the Gore super-super is a highway too early.

Yet there is one part of the Gore package that is well worth endorsing: the part that will remove the present legal and regulatory barriers to open competition in telecom markets. Those barriers, some erected by the Federal

Encounters in Cyberspace

From GBOYLE
07/08/94

The advantage Jack Kemp holds over his rivals for 1996 is his undeniable capacity to reach and deliver constituencies that vote Democrat, but receive little in turn. His combination of market-oriented social policies and growth-oriented fiscal policies is what keeps him a contender.

But it seems he does suffer from a public perception that persists over eight years. In works in two ways: Either Kemp is a highly intelligent and informed candidate who overwhelms voters with his detailed policy proposals and intense sense of the positive role government can play; or he is (as some Town Hallers put it) "soulless" . . .

Speaking for myself, I find it odd that Kemp has never understood or grappled with the distrust many conservatives have for him. I suppose it is significant that he is never aggressively critical of his conservative fellows. But some observers worry that because he doesn't resolve these persisting public perceptions, he lacks sufficient resolve to be a successful candidate.

From: GGILDER
07/08/94

Kemp believes Republicans can retrieve a number of blacks from the liberal plantation (95 per cent Democratic vote) by the ingenious use of government programs to give them a sense of property and responsibility, as Margaret Thatcher did in Britain, turning a nation of public dependents and Labourites into homeowners and stockholders.

Like most government programs, Kemp's were mostly debauched in the effort to get them passed, so virtually none of them work even to the small degree they might have. But Kemp has managed the amazing effect of generating high enthusiasm among blacks, to the extent that he might achieve a dramatic raid on the Democratic base while dissolving some of the racist bitterness and paranoia that now afflicts so many blacks, even in the middle class. This campaign has driven Kemp to some rhetoric and programs that are offensive to me, and to other conservatives, but his overall purpose and philosophy are resolutely on the Right.

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Government and some by the states, prevent local-exchange carriers and long-distance carriers from competing with one another. Worst of all, perhaps, they prevent cable-TV companies from competing directly with local-exchange carriers. This means that the cable-TV network, which already connects the great majority of American households through big pipelines (known as broadband cable), is wastefully underused. It could carry multimedia services, and telephone service as well, between homes and the superhighways. It could accordingly solve the narrow-side-street problem. If legislation resulting from Gore's proposal set the cable-TV suppliers as well as the traditional telecom companies free to compete with one another, and to collaborate within their own regions, the benefit to consumers would stand as a monument to the Vice President's great vision. □

Let Freedom Ring

KARL ZINSMEISTER

THE FIRST thing one has to say about the coming home information services is that no one knows what will end up being demanded and what won't. An enormous amount of trial-and-error testing is going to be needed. Thanks to all the greedy little information corporations out there, this will happen—provided Al Gore and his accomplices in Congress and the courts don't throw a monkey wrench into the works.

In the course of those trials and errors, I can promise you there will be lots of bad bets, lots of seriously wrong turns, lots of failures and lost fortunes. One of the very best reasons for letting myriad private firms stumble their own way across this minefield instead of having Uncle Sluggish march them into the future in centrally regulated rows is to keep the casualties diversified. Putting all our eggs in Reed Hundt's or Ed Markey's basket would be a prescription for disaster even if they *were* wise.

We don't hear as much as we ought to about the money that is going to be lost in video information services over the next decade. Staggering amounts of investment will be needed to produce even the most basic innovations. Take movies on demand. We don't yet have even the first versions of proper movie storage devices, video servers, or interactive set-top boxes. Except for cable-TV lines, currently barred from

Mr. Zinsmeister, who telecommutes from Ithaca, New York, is DeWitt Wallace Fellow of the American Enterprise Institute. In the fall he will become editor of The American Enterprise *magazine.*

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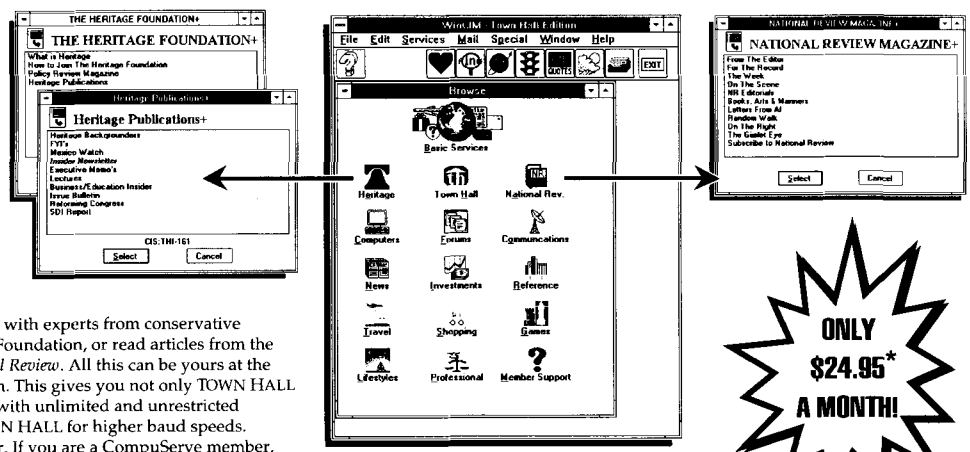

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connecting to fiber-optic networks, we don't yet have the local conduits to carry the extremely fat signals to homes and businesses. Worst of all, we don't have any of the unbelievably complex software that is going to be needed to order, route, deliver, and bill for a massive and constantly shifting torrent of information running in two directions, in real time, through a hundred million houses and hundreds of thousands of businesses and institutions.

To cover the mind-boggling investments that will be required in order to establish widespread interactive video services, the private operating companies are going to need to be allowed to make lots of money. Self-appointed guardians of the consumer nickel should butt out and take comfort from the fact that if wide competition is encouraged, prices will very soon drop like a stone.

The worst possible course would be politically mandated price setting. The fact that Congress just this last year waved a wand and ordered an arbitrary 17 per cent reduction in cable-TV rates, slicing $3 billion out of the industry's annual revenue just because a few guys felt "they oughta pass a law," does not encourage.

If a healthy multimedia fusion of the communications, information, and entertainment vendors is going to occur, producers will need wide latitude not only in pricing but also in the ability to alter their consumer services. They are going to have to be able to change direction rapidly without reapplying for a new license each time. They will have to be allowed to abandon unproductive niches without interference. They will have to be permitted to enter new fields without first currying favor with some subcommittee chairman or state infocom agency.

Millions of technology assessments and service innovations and fresh product offerings will be needed to bring a world of personalized information to the home. Markets can handle multi-variable decisions of this sort. (They are already working wonders in this area.) Direct regulators, however, cannot, no matter how smart they are.

SOLID PROOF that government steering of the information and communications sectors results in painful boondoggles is available to anyone who will glance, in even a cursory way, at developments in Japan. Japan is in poor shape when it comes to multimedia, information networks, digital signal processing, and advanced telecommunications. And the majority of the blame lies with ham-handed government regulation:

—When bureaucrats came to favor satellite broadcasting over cable, the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications set rigid rules that made 80 per cent of Japan's cable operations unprofitable. As a result, the industry has hardly developed.

—Meanwhile, Japan Satellite, the hapless consortium of 190 companies that was set up by the Ministry as an alternative to open broadcast competition (a vaunted "government–industry partnership," with a former postal bureaucrat as its head), has turned into a calamity, with far fewer customers than projected and losses in the hundreds of millions of dollars.

—NTT, Japan's incompletely privatized national phone company, is losing market share, lagging in technological innovation, and falling behind in its fiber-optic upgrades because intrusive government regulation makes it impossible for the company to innovate effectively.

—Collusion between government and industry has preserved most of the Japanese telecom equipment market for domestic suppliers, but the perverse result is that few of the protected Japanese manufacturers can compete in the massive international market for switching gear.

—Over-regulation and controls on competition have likewise stifled development of Japan's cellular-phone industry, with the result that the devices are 2½ times more common in the U.S. than they are in Japan.

—The Japanese are well behind American and even European counterparts in digital TV, and they risk becoming also-rans in high-definition broadcasting, thanks to ruinous government intervention that pushed the entire nation onto an outmoded analogue standard. (U.S. industrial-policy advocates were begging the American Government to make the same mistake in the 1980s. Instead, the Reagan and Bush Administrations set up an open HDTV competition among private companies, and the American industry is now in a strong position to lead the world.) Meanwhile, conventional television manufacturing, like much of the rest of the consumer-electronics industry dominated by the Japanese, is unprofitable for nearly every company in the business.

—Thanks in large measure to rivalries among various Japanese government ministries, Japan has no national computer network, and Japan trails the U.S. in information networking and on-line services by an estimated ten years.

The reality is that Japan is now lagging notably in almost every one of the vital converging industries of communications, computer hardware, computer software, consumer electronics, and information and entertainment content, which collectively represent the next economic frontier.

The Japanese themselves, and others doing business in the country, have figured out who is to blame. "The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications should be abolished," says one Japanese technocrat.

When "third-class bureaucrats are put in charge of a high-tech industry," complains an industry executive, the result is disaster.

"We've got a regulatory situation [in Japan] that is not flexible enough for a technology ironically first developed in Japan," observes an American satellite TV broadcaster.

The critical lesson of Japan's experience with industrial policy in the telecommunications field is that even the most competent firms can be dragged down by heavy state intervention as they navigate the treacherous waters of a new industry. Caveat Senator.

OUR CULTURE and economy are in the midst of a major information and communications leap right now. Private investment and talent are pouring into the field, and (contrary to popular rhetoric) most of

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the foundations of our "information highways" have already been laid down by nimble profit-seeking corporations. As American Enterprise Institute scholar William Shew warns, "further stimulus of government subsidies" in the area of infocommunications "would risk encouraging excessive investment, draining resources from other uses and thereby impairing productivity rather than enhancing it."

The fact is, government regulation is unlikely to succeed even at the narrow goal of lowering consumer prices. A large-scale study of cellular-telephone services recently released by Shew found that the 18 states that regulated cellular services over the last decade actually ended up with higher prices than those that did not. The major factor that has already brought cellular-phone services within the reach of one out of every five U.S. households, Shew concludes, is competition between the carriers in each market.

If the folks in Washington, D.C., want to aid our information industries, the best course they could follow would be to open as many fields as possible to currently forbidden competition. Stay away from industrial policy, technology promotion, "managed competition," and company picking. Just let freedom ring. □

Highway Cops

ROBERT STOWE ENGLAND

THERE is one superglitch to all this euphoria about universal access to cyberspace. The capital for the information superhighway has to come largely, if not entirely, from the private sector; but that capital will not be unleashed unless the regulatory straitjackets on the communications industry are dismantled. The principal barriers are the woefully outdated Communications Act of 1934, which set the rules for the AT&T monopoly on telephone service, and the 1982 consent decree by know-it-all Judge Harold Greene, at once breaking up AT&T and creating straitjackets for the regional Bell operating companies that it forced Ma Bell to toss out on their own.

Al Gore can take credit for getting Congress finally to address the deregulation of the communications industry. Unfortunately, Congress is erecting new barriers even as it tears down old ones. The voices for micromanagement are triumphing over the advocates of free markets.

Notably missing in any bill so far proposed is Gore's own proposal to add a new Title VII to the Communications Act. Title VII that would largely deregulate communications companies that offer a two-way broadband of services (not just telephone or cable-television programming alone). The unwillingness to sponsor Title VII suggests that the Administration's on-ramp to the information superhighway does not go as far as Capitol Hill.

The final House version of the Communications Act of 1994, which recently passed on a nearly unanimous vote in the House, combines a bill sponsored by arch-Luddites Edward J. Markey (D., Mass.) and Jack Fields (D., Tex.) and another sponsored by neo-Luddites Jack Brooks (D., Tex.) and John Dingell (D., Mich.). The Markey–Fields part of the bill would allow regional Bells to offer cable service in their own regions, but not without some onerous restrictions. Video programming would have to be provided through a separate subsidiary, thanks to the misguided notion that local telephone service, whose price is controlled by state authorities, could subsidize cable programming. In fact, it is local service that is being subsidized by long-distance access charges. The Dingell–Brooks part of the bill requires Bell regional companies to wait five years before applying to the FCC to offer long-distance service in their own regions.

The Senate bill, which remains bottled up in the Commerce Committee, is sponsored by Ernest F. Hollings (D., S.C.) and John C. Danforth (R., Mo.). It would prevent local companies from providing long-distance service in their own regions until the FCC found that they actually faced competition for the provision of local-exchange services. The standard for proving that local competition exists, however, is more stringent than the one currently allowed by Judge Greene.

There is a free-market alternative to the Hollings bill offered by Senators John B. Breaux (D., La.) and Bob Packwood (R., Ore.); it would remove all restrictions on telephone, cable, and long-distance service one year after the bill was passed. States would continue to have the right to ensure universal access for telephone service and presumably could end all subsidies if they chose to do so. This approach is simple and sensible and likely to accelerate the development of the information superhighway while preserving universal access to telephone service.

Beyond the continuing restrictions on the Bell companies is the even more controversial matter of universal access to the rest of the information superhighway. "Just as every home in America is now linked to the rest of the country by a driveway that goes to a street, that goes to a highway, that goes to an interstate, we want every home and business in America to be linked by an information highway," Al Gore gushed during the 1992 campaign.

While the Hollings bill leaves this up to the states, the Markey–Fields bill establishes a new Federal–State Joint Board. This board would have the authority to recommend funding mecha-

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nisms for universal access, indicating what types of subsidies states should adopt. It would also recommend what services should be universally accessible, and could conceivably decide that the whole range of available services should be offered to every household in America.

Since the Markey–Fields bill prohibits racial discrimination and redlining and objects to anything that would impede anyone's educational and economic opportunities, it would give the Joint Board enough sway to attempt to micromanage every electronic impulse of the firms involved, including choice of technology and pricing for different neighborhoods.

While the bill also requires that a market test be applied before recommending that a particular service or technology be universally available, in practice the Joint Board could minimize this test for a host of socially redeeming reasons. Already the NAACP is demanding that Congress ensure that future information-superhighway services be accessible to low-income neighborhoods. The bidding war for new mandates has begun.

Ostensibly the Joint Board can only make recommendations to states and the FCC; however, if the FCC adopts them, they become federally mandated, just as recent cable price rollbacks have usurped state regulatory authority. With the FCC as its enforcer, the Joint Board would become a playground for the redistributionists, paving the way for the socialization of the information superhighway even before it is built. □

Bye-Bye, Big Brother

PETER HUBER

"FROM THE age of Big Brother, from the age of doublethink—Greetings!" These words were written in 1948 by a lonely, iconoclastic genius of English letters. He was 44 years old and was dying of tuberculosis. He chose as the title of his book the year in which he wrote it, with the last two digits interchanged.

1984 was an instant, huge success. To this day, Orwell's vision is invoked in every major debate about electronic technology and telecommunications. Big Brother. The Thought Police. Newspeak. Doublethink. These are all Orwell's creations. Orwell achieved something that very few writers ever do: he added his own name to the English language. Whether you know it or not, your thinking about how communications technology will shape society has itself been shaped by Orwell's unforgettably dystopic vision.

And the trouble with that is that Orwell was wrong. Not wrong in the details—he was in fact remarkably prescient about what technology in our day would accomplish. But wrong in his most fundamental logic. The gargoyles in *1984* are magnificent. But the architecture beneath is rotten.

Orwell despised machines of every kind, but he despised the machines of telecommunications the most. His other big obsession was the Ministry—big government. He was a passionate socialist and looked forward to a government takeover of all major industries. He was certain that complex machines required centralized management. But he also loathed the radio propaganda of Goebbels and hated government censorship. The Orwellian future in *1984* is simply the magnificent synthesis of Orwell's own schizophrenic beliefs. In *1984*, he foresees an evil machine, controlled by an evil Ministry.

Orwell's machine, which he calls the telescreen, is a two-way television. In *1984*, telescreens are bolted to every wall; they hang on every street corner and in every living room, even in the lavatories—and there is no way to shut them off. The telescreen displays nothing but mendacious propaganda from the Ministry of Truth. And it sends back sound and pictures to the iniquitous and hateful Ministry of Love. Linked by telescreen to everyone, everywhere, the ministries tower over central London, "vast and white above the grimy landscape." Big Brother has never been seen in the flesh. He is what Orwell in other writings called a "brain in a bottle." Big Brother is the communicating machine incarnate. He is the telescreen.

FROM a strictly technological perspective, we are today very close to having in hand exactly the gadgets Orwell described. Broadcasting, cable television, telephony, and computers are fast converging, just as Orwell expected. And yet Orwell was wrong—dismally wrong—about the social and political consequences. "Telescreens" have turned out to be what Ithiel de Sola Pool called the *Technologies of Freedom*.

Begin with a fundamental engineering fact that Orwell completely missed: a network with the capabilities that he imagined simply cannot converge at a single large central ministry. The network must instead be dispersed, fragmented, and connected at many points. Really powerful communications networks are not and cannot be built to look like the pyramid of Cheops, with a single, all-powerful controller at the pinnacle. They must look more like a geodesic dome by Buckminster Fuller.

Why? To transmit large amounts of information, to and from large numbers of people, efficiently, flexibly, and reliably, you must use many switches, many points of interconnection. Your telescreens must be linked as one technological peer to the next, with each unit more or less equally powerful. Unless you disperse the power, the system just won't perform. The bottlenecks will throttle the cataracts of bits. It is as simple as that.

Thus, the centralized mainframe computer is being broken apart and spread out into hundreds of desktop machines. The large, central telephone exchange is being replaced by distributed switches with multiple levels of interconnection among them. We are building networks of networks—one for conventional telephone, several for cellular telephone, several for data transport, several for video transport, all interlinked and interconnected like the ribs and spines of a geodesic dome.

This technological imperative has

Mr. Huber, a Senior Fellow of the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, is the author of Orwell's Revenge: The 1984 Palimpsest *(Free Press, Fall 1994).*

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profound social and political consequences.

Consider first the most basic social problem of all, the problem of unity. All great achievements of civilization are creations of communities. People build families, religions, scientific disciplines, only when they join together and cooperate. Until recently there was only one efficient way for many people to cooperate, and that was to surrender their freedom. They appointed a king, or handed over authority to a small council of elite rulers. Leaders assembled in some centralized citadel, castle, ministry, or executive suite. Information traveled one way only, from the rulers to the ruled. People accepted this because they gained more from empowering a central authority than they lost in submitting to its will. They lost freedom, but they gained the strength of numbers and unity. Communication technology was too primitive to support any other political structure.

Now we have telescreens—instruments of almost perfect, instantaneous, costless communication. Now people can form communities and alliances almost at will, over any distance. For the first time in history, it is becoming possible to have brotherhood without Big Brother.

Where is that likely to lead? Start with the marketplace. The single most important thing that's ever traded in the market is not a cow or a blanket; it's information. The infrastructure of the free market is the communication system. Communication brings together buyer and seller. Communication transmits and records promises—contracts—so that trades begun today can be consummated tomorrow. By distributing information, communication creates memory, which maintains records, which are in fact the foundation of all private property. Dialogue and communication, promises and memories, trust and loyalty: these are the essential ingredients of a free market, the essentials on which all else is constructed. And the networks we are building today are the most powerful communicating machines that the world has ever seen.

Yesterday's giant, monolithic corporations are doomed, at least in their old structures. The old corporation operated in the image of Big Brother—an oversized, homogeneous, collectivist, bureaucratic autocracy. The mega-

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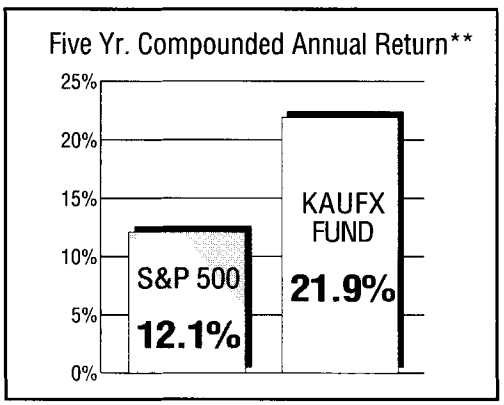

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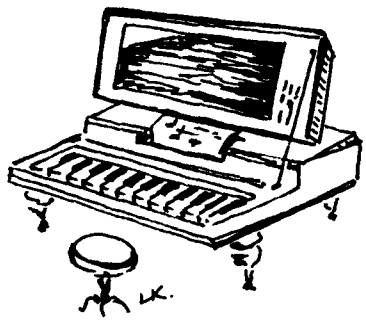
corporation worked only because the alternatives were even less efficient: it was difficult to coordinate secretaries and clerks and typists and managers and machinists without resorting to centralized authority.

With modern telecommunicating technology, however, we can now decentralize and unbundle everything. Raw materials, labor, inventory, can all be metered and valued and coordinated with scrupulous precision at any distance, among any number of independent players. A car manufacturer, for example, can become a truly efficient assembler of parts provided by hundreds of independent suppliers. Secretaries, accountants, designers—most of the enterprise's support services—can be replaced by independent outsiders, knitted together into an efficient whole by the network. Every purchase of a pencil or box of cereal can be communicated instantly back up the entire chain of production, back even to the granary, the farmer, or the mine. It is no small irony that the age of the telescreen has witnessed the unbundling of two prime movers of telescreen technology: AT&T and IBM.



Money itself is being unbundled. A dollar bill is nothing but a piece of paper covered with ink—a very primitive medium of communication. The value of money depends on trust and promises on the part of whoever controls the records. That used to mean a central bank. But with sufficiently advanced communication technology, nobody controls the records, or at least no central authority. We already have in circulation today a thousand different private currencies—personal checks, stocks, bonds, credit-card accounts, futures contracts, green stamps, frequent-flier mileage accounts. Private enterprises issue currencies all over the place. The better the network, the more of that there will be. We are moving, in other words, toward the privatization of currency. The government bank is a dying anachronism. Currencies of every imaginable description can now be created by the market itself, just like Nikes or Big Macs. And with the privatization of money, government will lose much of its vast power to tax and spend, inflate, impoverish, and manipulate.

In the age of perfect communication, almost everything that once belonged to Big Brother can be returned to the market. Lighthouses for ships? With advanced communication ships can be tracked and guided privately. Air-traffic control for planes? Planes, like pedestrians, can avoid colliding on their own, if they can see far enough ahead and communicate fast enough. Pollution of the air and water? This too is ultimately a failure of private dialogue and negotiation, as to who is willing to pay how much for air, water, or land. Education for children? Today a school, an entire university, even a great library, can reside on a single desktop.

Law itself is being privatized. What is law, other than information communicated among men and women? Law is a creation of consensus. That is why we speak of the common law, the law created not by legislatures but by the accumulation of custom and contract and adjudication in individual cases. Our ancestors took the criminal and branded a letter on his forehead to communicate to the world that he was a deadbeat or a thief. Today the most important economic policemen we have are already entirely private; they are the credit-reporting companies like Dun and Bradstreet and TRW. An advanced network brands people too, but with infinitely finer calibration than a piece of hot iron. We are developing, in other words, an altogether new body of truly common law, manufactured in the private sector and constantly refreshed through the network.

Consider, finally, our greatest freedoms: freedom of thought and belief, and freedom of speech and association—the freedoms Orwell was most certain would disappear with the rise of the telescreen. What does the telescreen really promise? It gives a man eyes and ears that can see and hear at any distance and a tongue that can speak to anyone on the planet. The telescreen frees his senses and his voice, and thus frees his intellect and his conscious mind. The telescreen gives a man the power to hear, see, and speak, to be heard and seen, in the company of his own choosing, wherever it may be found. With the telescreen, humans can create new cities whenever they need them, in the capacious light beams of the network and the airwaves of the stratosphere.

Do you imagine, as Orwell did, that all of that will *destroy* privacy? It will *create* privacy, in greater abundance than ever before. A telescreen lets you live in one place and work, shop, or entertain yourself in another. By overcoming distance, the telescreen contains the power to create as much solitude as any person will ever want.

At the same time, speech in the telescreened society can be freer than ever before imagined. Bulletin boards, auditoriums, theaters, schools, stadia, squares, subway walls can now all exist in the network. The network gives the pamphleteer and soap-box orator not just a place in Speaker's Corner but the whole of Hyde Park. There is room enough now for pacifists, Communists, anarchists, Jehovah's Witnesses, temperance reformers, Trotskyists, and Phesbian Leminists. People can now assemble in any numbers, at any distance, in groups that are infinitely variable. A man may now cry fire whenever he wishes. The theater is no longer crowded.

THE telescreened society, in other words, is the complete opposite of Orwell's *1984*. It is a world in which the power of communication is decentralized, in which control is dispersed. It is a world in which the Thought Police are driven to distraction by telephones, facsimiles, video cameras, personal computers, Xerox machines, and all the other children and siblings of the telescreen that are materializing around us today.

Orwell imagined the world of Stalin filled with Apple computers and concluded that it would be more horrible than any world ever seen before. He was wrong. Wherever the telescreen advances, the world will grow freer than ever before.

Despots and autocrats pursued communicating machines in the hope that they could use them to police thought itself. But with perfect communication, independent thought is irrepressible. Without the telescreen, there can be no Big Brother, or at least none quite so totalitarian as Orwell imagined. With the telescreen, there can be no Big Brother at all. □

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Election '96

THE OLD FOX

The master of 'process,' the scourge of anything that sounds too good to be true, has spoken on health care. Clintons, beware.

RICHARD BROOKHISER

IN MAY 1993, the historian Richard Norton Smith was sitting next to Bob Dole at a dinner given by the Hoover Library Association in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The library was honoring a trustee who had just turned ninety. "Think of it," Dole said to Smith. "By the time I turn ninety, I can run for President three or four more times."

With Bill Clinton's victory over George Bush, it was generally accepted that the World War II generation had been put to bed. Henceforth, the nation's affairs would be in the hands of baby boomers like Bill and Hillary and Ira and Al and, of course, Barbra. Now, two years into the new age, who should be making yet another run for the White House but the man who was recovering in an Army hospital the year Clinton was born?

In mid June, Dole announced that his advisors would begin the process of signing up campaign talent, as a preliminary step before making a formal decision whether to run. Two and a half weeks later, Dole as Minority Leader unveiled an anti-Clinton health-care plan backed by 39 Republican senators; the 40th, William Roth, signed on days later. Liberals, who hoped to woo Dole on health care as they have wooed him on other issues over the years, were quick to connect the two moves. Dole, declared the *New York Times*, has "sacrificed health care on the sword of anger and ambition." Senator Jay Rockefeller, a month earlier, had warned that Dole "has to protect his right flank." Many Beltway conservatives were saying the same thing, off the record, though they approved the result (which was why they were saying it off the record). The connection between Dole's health-care bill and his ambitions is more complicated than that. He has proposed the kind of plan he has in part because he wants to run for President, and the way he argues for it shows what kind of a run for President he will make.

Take That! And That!

DOLE described his plan to me as the result of an "ongoing process. Everybody's moved on health care. If you're in the leadership, you don't take the first shot out of the box. You wait to see what happens." What has happened is that Dole has "been traveling around the country. People in my state—real people—come to tell me what they think." As a result, "I could just see it moving away from Clinton. He's about as low as he's going to be." Dole cited a poll.

"Nobody's got the votes" to pass a bill just now, he said, but he denied that his bill represented a Republican bargaining position. "I think we've gone as far as we're gonna go. The kind of trigger we'd support is that in 2002, the President can make a recommendation. No fast track; we retain a right to filibuster." In other words, no trigger at all.

When I asked him what was wrong with the Clinton plan, he sprayed reasons like shotgun pellets. "You can explain it in ten seconds: price controls, alliances, and taxes." The greatest of these was taxes. "People don't trust this Administration on taxes. An employer who's got five or six people working for him knows what a mandate is—it's a tax." Dole then added another ten seconds, and another. "There's already Medicaid, Medicare, the Veterans Administration. People don't want to turn it *all* over to the Federal Government." Besides, the Clinton plan has been oversold. "Now they've got the Cabinet spread across America. That's probably good: means they can't cause trouble here." And besides that, the Clinton plan is evasive. "We only have 95 per cent 'universal coverage' in Social Security. He's got to say what universal coverage means." Dole has no pride of authorship; he will attack the Clinton plan for falling short of its own goals, as well as for falling short of Dole's.

As the Democrats' domestic-policy agenda has foundered, they have sought to retrieve their fortunes by pummeling the Religious Right. Dole, who has attacked liberal "religious bigotry" and, after some hesitation, endorsed Oliver North, has not been intimidated by the tactic. But since God is in the details, I asked him whether the Religious Right would continue to

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be part of the GOP coalition, to see how he would respond. He said, "I hope so," then added that it didn't strike him as "appropriate to define people as 'Religious Right.' If they're Republicans, they're Republicans. A lot of people get in politics for the first time, they think they're going to do this, this. They learn there has to be a give and take. There's a maturation process." Would there be new abortion language in the 1996 platform? "Too early to guess. We're a free and open party."

The word that appeared in both discussions was "process"—really, one process, the political process. That is what produced the Republican health-care bill, and that is what will take the rough edges off the evangelicals, once they reach Bob Dole's level of experience (should they be so tenacious).

What issues did he think would most help the Republicans in the fall? "Clinton, if you want to go alphabetically."

The Bent Twig

BOB DOLE'S biography has been cycled through twenty years of profiles of the Nixon hit-man, the Ford running-mate, the supply-siders' nemesis, and the 1988 front-runner. One of the few neglected factors in his life was highlighted by Dole himself in *Unlimited Partners*, the campaign autobiography he wrote with his wife Elizabeth six years ago, and it explains his sardonic temperament. Everyone attributes Dole's temperament to the wound he received as a lieutenant in 1945 and the years-long recovery he made from it, and certainly they were harrowing experiences. But Lieutenant James Monroe was shot through the lung at the battle of Trenton, and no one ever thought of him as a dark political figure. We bring our personalities to our disasters. In *Unlimited Partners*, Dole unwittingly offers an additional explanation, in describing his father, who "couldn't even take a family argument too seriously. When tempers flared up, as they do sooner or later in most households, he would slip out the front door, a half-smile on his face. An hour later he'd be back, having put the time to good use by raking the lawn." What senator does that sound like? As the twig was bent, so the tree got bent further.

The political effect of Dole's temperament has been to make him suspicious of all reasons that might be rationalizations, and all hopes that might be delusions. Hence his scorn throughout the Eighties for supply-side tax cuts and supply-siders, and his equal and opposite respect for process.

Respect for process has the paradoxical effect of broadening the category of "real people." The real people whose judgment of the Clinton health-care plan Dole cites live in Kansas, or other places out there, because that is one end of the political process. But the other end of the process is in Washington, where another set of real people live—colleagues, and other players in the Beltway game. When gauging the political winds, a leader holds up fingers in both places.

Dole began his tenure as Minority Leader under a Democratic President by leading a successful filibuster of the Clinton stimulus package. Opposing Democratic pork is an easy issue for Republicans to understand. But on health care, much of the party was living in the shadow of the 1991 Pennsylvania Senate race, when former Attorney General Dick Thornburgh lost to Harris Nobody and his consultant, James Carville, who had campaigned on the issue. A year later, Carville won again with another client, and by the time the Clinton health-care plan was being delivered, Dole was trying to find common ground with the Democrats, at least rhetorically. Shortly before Clinton's health-care speech last September, Dole told the National Governors' Association that Republicans wanted to be cooperative; Governor Carroll Campbell of South Carolina praised him for "holding out an olive branch." Shortly after Clinton's speech, Dole told the AMA that he "start[ed] off saying, 'OK, let's try to have universal coverage.'" Republican initiative on the issue was nominally in the hands of John Chafee, whom Dole had picked to head the party's health-care task force three years earlier and whose Clinton Lite bill Dole co-sponsored.

In retrospect, this looks like the high point of Clinton's influence with Republicans, and with the public. Even then, Dole warned that bipartisanship had to mean a full-scale deal, "not just picking off enough Republicans to get the bill to pass." He also expressed concern over employer mandates: another easy call for a process-oriented Republican, because a concrete group of real people, the National Federation of Independent Business, would reward him for opposing them.

But he is not right in saying that "everybody" has moved on health care. There were those who opposed the Clintonites vocally from day one, chiefly fellow candidate-in-waiting Phil Gramm. "When the tides are running, there is value in being an anchor, and that's what Gramm has been," as a Hill staffer put it. By this January, Dole had become more combative, asserting that "there isn't any crisis in American health care," and displaying the famous Clinton health plan flow chart: "You and I are way down here, way at the bottom."

In March, Chafee held a meeting of the health-care task force in Annapolis to try to get some consensus, but he was not the man to do it. The six Republican freshman senators, led by Paul Coverdell, submitted a memo calling for small-scale reforms only. "Is it necessary to overhaul our entire system . . . in order to reach the 20 per cent currently not served well?" ("Every time you think about him," says Gramm of Coverdell, "you realize that he's more than you ever thought he was.") At the end of May, members of the staffs of interested senators began meeting to work out a united Republican bill, and on June 22 Dole told a caucus of Senate Republicans that he would be presenting such a bill. Though he did not then say what it would include, the very goal of having one GOP bill foreshadowed the tenor of it, for by then most Republicans had coalesced against sweeping health-care reforms. "If you want to be a leader," says John Goodman of the National Center for Policy Analysis, "you need a plan that can get the support of your troops."

Two Cheers

GOODMAN'S group, which has been opposing Clinton-style reform all along, gave Dole's plan two cheers. "We gave it two instead of one and a half because it shows signs of personal growth." The Dole plan has no employer or individual mandates, no alliances, no price controls, no global budgets. It allows people with high-deductible insurance policies to set up Medical Savings Accounts, into which they could de-

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posit up to $2,000 a year tax-free ($4,000 for families) and on which they could draw for uncovered expenses. It proposes insurance regulations to guarantee portability (you keep your plan even if you lose your job) and renewability (you keep the present level of your premium even if you get sick). But by requiring insurers to accept all applicants and to charge them the same premium as everyone else in their age group, regardless of health status, it encourages people to remain uninsured until they get sick—hence Goodman's missing cheer.

The political effect of Dole's bill is finally to present, as official Republican policy, a rejection of the notion of a health-care crisis, and thereby to bundle together all the Democratic plans, which accept this notion, and make any one of them unacceptable as a "compromise." Dole has also managed to bring aboard fainthearts like Nancy Kassebaum and Bob Packwood, and to keep the number of strays down to four—James Jeffords, Dave Durenberger, John Danforth, and the hapless Chafee.

So the liberals, from Howlin' Howell Raines on down, have turned on him. *What does he know—he's insured because he's in Congress!* (Think of that—congressmen with privileges.) If they get any angrier, they'll bill him for the beds he occupied in 1946. Dole is giving it right back. When demonstrators, some in wheelchairs, called for mandates, Dole told them, "You're out of luck." (That must have been fun.) In quieter moments, he says things like, "Everything's timing around here," relishing the process and his mastery of it.

The process, and Dole's desire to participate in the process as President, have led him to stand with the Right on this one. His rhetoric shows that his heart is in it only so far as his calculations allow. He is the same Bob Dole he has always been, and he will be throughout his latest and—unless his words to Smith are prophetic—last run for the White House. □

The Abortion Plank

LIFE AND THE PARTY

In order to change the law, Republicans must first work to change the cultural environment.

GEORGE WEIGEL & WILLIAM KRISTOL

MORE and more often, and more and more openly, one hears the pleas in Republican circles: Can't we just drop the abortion issue? Wouldn't this divisive issue go away if the party simply adopted a stance of neutrality? Isn't it a "personal matter," after all?

This position is most frequently and most vigorously argued by Republicans who are *not* pro-life. Thus California Governor Pete Wilson: "The absence of a plank [on abortion] from a platform is consistent" with Republican principles. "I think you will undoubtedly see a lot of people trying to achieve that in '96 at the Republican convention, and I think rightly."

New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman echoes her colleague: she hopes "to get that plank knocked out of the platform entirely."

These comments from these sources may be no surprise. But nervousness about the abortion issue extends to some pro-life Republican politicians as well. Their concerns, combined with the frustrations generated by a federal judiciary ever more hostile to laws protective of the unborn, have tended to produce a wariness about confronting the challenge posed by Governors Wilson and Whitman, among others. Yet the challenge cannot be avoided. Given the singular character of this question in American public life today, the Republican Party simply cannot remain silent. But pro-life Republicans' discussion of abortion can be improved and strengthened.

Mr. Weigel is the president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center. Mr. Kristol is chairman of the Project for the Republican Future.

A Nation of Strangers

FIRST, though, we need to recall why the Republican Party ought to be unabashedly, in fact enthusiastically, a pro-life party.

The abortion issue, is, at one level, a fundamental constitutional question. For the abortion license defined by *Roe* v. *Wade*—the decision that established the most permissive abortion regime in the democratic world—has made a shambles out of the Constitution. Our whole understanding of constitutional government, of a Constitution that limits the reach of all branches of government, including the judiciary, is called into question by the Supreme Court's exercise of "raw judicial power" (as Justice Byron White called it) in *Roe*.

Indeed, the abortion issue has been the wedge by which the Supreme Court and the lower federal judiciary have tried to effect a fundamental alteration in the very meaning of the American democratic experiment. Consider the fact that a federal judge, applying the logic of the 1992 *Casey* abortion-law decision with impeccable precision, has now discovered a hitherto-unknown constitutional "right" to physician-assisted suicide. The courts' increasingly strained attempt to establish a constitutional rationale for abortion on demand has had the effect of reducing the actors in American society to the coercive state and the radically autonomous individual, bereft of all social ties and responsibilities. It is a vision of America that should give all of us pause: for this is an America in which the community of husband and wife, or the community of parents and their children, is of no constitutional or legal account. As Richard John Neuhaus has written so eloquently, the America of *Roe* and *Casey* is an America of strangers, perhaps even enemies: which is not, to put it gently, what the Framers had in mind when they bade us "form a more perfect Union."

The Republican Party has to challenge this profound distortion of the meaning of the Constitution, and of the American democratic experiment it-

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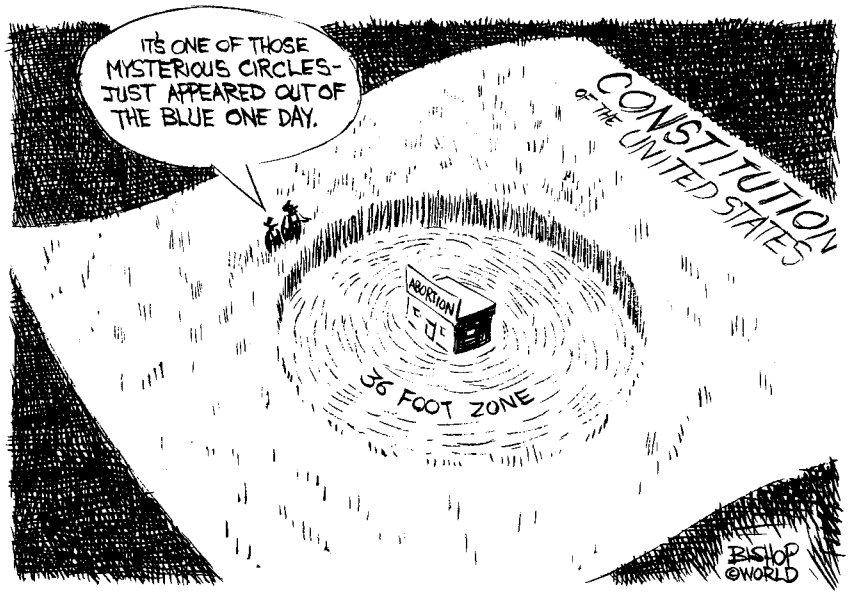
self. And if the Republican Party does not challenge it, no one will—for whatever the sincerity of the pro-life views of individual Democrats, that party is lost for the foreseeable future, not just to the pro-life cause but also to the cause of restoring limited constitutional government.

Then there is the political/cultural issue. For two hundred years, the story line of the American experiment has been one of broadening the community of the commonly protected. America freed its slaves, enfranchised women, and assimilated millions of immigrants, all in the name of an expanding community of mutual responsibility. Then came *Roe*, and the boundaries of the American commons have now been drastically constricted. The results have been disastrous, for our public culture as well as for some 25 million innocents denied the most fundamental of their inalienable rights, the right to life itself. We are a less decent, less just, less humane, and less inclusive society today because of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the regime of abortion on demand. And if it becomes a settled legal principle that Americans, in their exercise of liberty construed as autonomy, can employ lethal violence against the unborn for reasons of private convenience, then the future is ominous indeed for others who might, someday, be considered inconvenient or burdensome, including the incapacitated elderly and the severely handicapped. The party of Lincoln has a historic responsibility to take the lead in rebuilding a hospitable America.

Then there is the unavoidable and overriding moral issue: what happens

A Pro-Life Strategy for Republicans

WE ARE a pro-life party. We regard the nation's one and a half million annual abortions as a great tragedy. Our goal is unequivocal: a society in which every unborn child is protected in law and welcomed in life. We must revitalize the democratic process as a means of achieving this goal—and of healing the wounds of a society deeply divided by the abortion debate for over a generation.

The Republican Party consequently supports a comprehensive pro-life strategy: one that recognizes the need for an extensive and ongoing process of public persuasion, and one that provides care, assistance, and alternatives to women caught in the dilemma of unwanted pregnancy—even as it works to curb the incidence of abortion by seeking legal protection for the unborn to the maximum degree possible.

We believe that *Roe* v. *Wade* was wrongly decided by the Supreme Court. We believe that the federal judiciary's attempt to arrogate to itself sole responsibility for resolving the profound moral and legal issues engaged by the abortion debate is undemocratic. We support efforts to return to the people their constitutional right to deliberate on this question in their legislatures. We endorse legislative efforts to expand the boundaries of legal protection for the unborn. And we flatly reject the use of public funds, at the state or federal level, to pay for or encourage abortion.

The Republican Party salutes those dedicated women and men who have already made alternatives to abortion widely available throughout our country. We salute the millions of committed and compassionate Americans who make up the right-to-life movement. And we reject the notion that protecting the unborn is incompatible with respect for the dignity and equality of women.

President Clinton pledged during the 1992 campaign to make abortion "safe, legal, and rare." His Administration has broken that promise by insisting on the expansion of what were already the most permissive abortion laws in the democratic world. The President has overturned existing federal restrictions on the practice of abortion on demand. He has fought to fund abortions with tax dollars. He has applied a radical pro-abortion litmus test to judicial nominees. He has attempted to impose America's abortion regime on the world through international organizations and the manipulation of foreign aid. His party has even sought to silence pro-life Democrats and virtually banish them from their party's ranks. The American political party whose tent is closed to dissenters on the issue of abortion is the Democratic Party.

The Republican Party, by contrast, reaffirms its commitment to the promise and process of democratic self-government and to an inclusive vision of the American social compact. Abortion on demand is a betrayal of the promise of justice in American life. We will work to build a broad public consensus in favor of legal protection for the unborn, even as we work to build an America more hospitable to children and more protective of families. In doing so, our country can achieve a new commitment to justice and a new birth of freedom.

—GEORGE WEIGEL & WILLIAM KRISTOL

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in abortion is the taking of a human life. No one can reasonably deny that. That the unborn child is a life is plain from its distinctive genetic encoding. And that it is a human life is also beyond serious dispute: carried to term, the fetus is not going to turn out to be a golden retriever. America cannot indefinitely sustain itself as a law-governed democracy when 1.5 million innocents are annually the victims of privately authorized lethal violence. Abortion on demand is morally corrupting in ways that gravely undermine the future of the American experiment.

Finally, there is the electoral issue. The pro-life constituency is part of the bedrock of any national governing Republican coalition, and to ignore or marginalize its concerns is, to be blunt, imprudent to the point of suicidal. Indeed, polling data clearly indicate, contrary to received wisdom, that the pro-life position is a net plus for Republican presidential candidates.

How to Be Pro-Life

In sum, a pro-life position must be part of any comprehensive conservative program for the renewal and reform of the Republic. And such a program ought to be the agenda of the Republican Party.

The real issue, then, is not *whether* the Republican Party should be a pro-life party but *how*. The proposal on the facing page is an attempt to lay out a comprehensive pro-life agenda for Republicans, taking account of current political realities while holding true to moral and constitutional principle. The text embodies a strategic redeployment in the matter of abortion, a redeployment that allows Republicans to redefine and expand the terrain on which this struggle is being contested.

Our goal has been and remains, as the text puts it, an America in which "every unborn child is protected in law and welcomed in life." In order to reach that goal, we need a broad-front legal, political, and cultural strategy aimed at fostering in America the kinds of communities that can sustain a commitment to protecting the unborn (and indeed all lives that some may find "inconvenient"). The success of pro-life efforts will, after all, depend in no small part on a general rehabilitation of public moral argument in the United States and an intellectually vigorous challenge to the moral relativism that dominates elite culture in contemporary America. That means that a great moral/cultural change, involving a lengthy process of argument and persuasion, remains before us.

Thus the pro-life task for the rest of this decade and into the twenty-first century is to hold firm to principle while working politically, legally, and culturally to build, over time, a durable public consensus on behalf of pro-life, pro-family policies and laws. We think the text we suggest could be useful in building such a consensus. More particularly, it could be useful in providing guidance to candidates and elected officials. Some may find in it language appropriate for the 1996 national party platform; others may prefer a leaner platform plank, for which a proposal such as ours may serve as a kind of substantive brief. Debates on that front will doubtless take place in the next months and years. For now, we would simply like to flag the key points in the proposal.

On the legal front:

1. The proposal claims that *Roe* v. *Wade* was wrongly decided and that an arrogant federal judiciary has contributed to the current turmoil over abortion by denying American citizens their democratic right to debate and decide this matter in their legislatures. Thus the Republican Party should vigorously support efforts to permit the people, once again, to deliberate democratically on an issue that the overwhelming majority of us believe to be of the gravest moral and political consequence. Returning the issue to the people seems to us a pre-condition to any long-term legal or constitutional remedy for the practice of abortion on demand.

2. The proposal urges expanded efforts to regulate the $500-million-a-year abortion industry, in part by making legal provision for the protections given to women in crisis and to families by laws mandating informed consent and parental consent.

3. The proposal flatly rejects public funding for abortion at the federal and state level, and, by extension, rejects the inclusion of abortion in any package of mandated health-care services in any health-care-reform legislation.

4. The proposal rejects the promotion of abortion through international organizations and through the manip-

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ulation of U.S. or multilateral aid programs, one of the distinctive features of the Clinton Administration's foreign policy.

On the cultural front:

1. The proposal urges that alternatives to abortion be made more widely available and that existing medical, financial, and adoption services to women in crisis pregnancies be vigorously promoted and given broader visibility. Thus the proposal salutes the right-to-life movement, not only for its efforts on the legal front, but for its adaptation of the great American tradition of voluntary activism to provide alternatives to abortion. That commitment is too little known and too little appreciated; it deserves to be lifted up, both to challenge the caricature of the right-to-life movement too often found in the media and to make plain that no one in America has to have an abortion today. The message should be: We care about women in crisis; alternatives are available. Getting that message out helps people in need; it also helps rebuild a hospitable American community capable of sustaining legal protections for the unborn.

2. The proposal commits Republican leaders to an aggressive use of the bully pulpit, not least in order to explain the truly radical character of the present American abortion regime to our people. One of the astonishing facts about this twenty-year-long debate is that, today, only 10 per cent of the American people can accurately describe the abortion license created by *Roe*. A Gallup survey found that 17 per cent thought that decision granted an abortion right only when the mother's life or health was endangered, and even then only in the first trimester; another 25 per cent thought the right was unrestricted, but again only in the first trimester. We have a tremendous job of public education to do, and getting that job done is crucial to any effective work on the legal and political fronts.

Rights Talk

THE American crisis of abortion on demand is not going to be resolved immediately. Nor will it be resolved, we believe, by conducting the debate solely in terms of "rights." We have no doubt that the unborn child has an inalienable right to life. But when we conduct the debate over how to give legal effect to that moral truth solely in terms of "rights," we risk playing into the hands of an opposition that is happy to fight this battle on the grounds of a "clash of rights" (or, in Laurence Tribe's formulation, a "clash of absolutes"). That is terrain that is politically difficult for our cause, given the degree to which our political culture has been saturated with (and debased by) "rights talk." In particular, putting the issue solely in terms of "rights" has the unintended and unjust, but nevertheless real, consequence of allowing the opposition to claim that the rights of women must be set against those of children. False though it is, this way of characterizing the moral issue has proved to be an electoral winner for the other side. Thus our principled moral defense of the right to life of the unborn has to be complemented by a new political emphasis on responsibilities: the responsibilities of individuals and communities to build an America in which, as we have said, every unborn child is protected in law and welcomed in life.

Dealing effectively with the crisis of abortion on demand requires a reconstruction of our political and moral culture as well as a reform of our laws. We believe the Republican Party—building on the tremendous efforts the pro-life movement has made over the past two decades—should strengthen, expand, and deepen its commitment to the pro-life cause in all its dimensions. This means a more comprehensive, more inclusive, more politically doable pro-life strategy. It means contesting the abortion issue on a broad front, through the arts of democratic persuasion and voluntary activism. It means a step-by-step process in which legal beachheads are secured, and further legal progress is then made possible by an ongoing cultural reformation of our society. It means, in sum, a process of national renewal, throughout which our goal remains clear: achieving legal protection for the unborn and thus securing the American promise of liberty and justice for all. □

Bill Clinton's Europe

DEUTSCHLAND UEBER ALLES

After all these years, the President still carries a torch for Germany.

MARK ALMOND

IF 1993 was Bill Clinton's year of Asia, then 1994 is clearly his year of Europe, which he has visited twice so far this year. Cynics may already be speculating about which continent will give its name to 1995, but they would be wrong. By latching onto Europe, the President has reverted to type. He belongs to that generation of Americans whose outlooks were shaped not only by the disillusionment over Vietnam and the unraveling of the Great Society but also by the search for better models abroad.

Unlike his more haywire coevals, Bill Clinton never seems to have thought of Mao's China or Fidel's Cuba as the natural places to find solutions to the problems of an affluent society (not that he ever uttered a syllable against them, of course). Instead, he looked to the societies in which he traveled and studied as a graduate student at the end of the 1960s.

For many people, "Europe" in the President's biography means the period when he was dodging the draft at Oxford and smoking dope without inhaling. But Europe meant much more

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to the future President than any personal peccadilloes. Some of his clearest political opinions for the future were developed there.

When he made his fleeting visit to Oxford this spring to collect an honorary doctorate, Bill Clinton's old tutors stepped out of oblivion to recall his enthusiasm for features of Harold Wilson's Britain that he might prefer not to be associated with today. The Clinton camp cannot have been pleased when Oxford University's great and good went out of their way to praise him for his attitude not only toward the Vietnam War but, worse still, toward the British National Health Service. Oblivious to the domestic travails of the President's own health plan, they recalled his interest in the unreformed, pre-Thatcher health service. It may well have been true that the young Clinton saw it as a model, but soon enough his attention wandered across the Channel, to Germany.

Not Wanted on Voyage

DESPITE HIS father's participation in the Second World War, Clinton brought no historical baggage with him to Europe. During his student days, just 25 years after Hitler's defeat, he was prepared to forget the German past and to concentrate on the West German present, the apparent ability of the West German state to combine boundless economic growth with generous social provision. Now, fifty years after D-Day, it was entirely appropriate that the U.S. President should cross to Europe to celebrate the defeat of Nazism. What was stranger was Bill Clinton's emphasis on America's natural ally in Europe today. Neither Britain, which provided the embarkation points for the cross-Channel invasion, nor France, which was the first country to be liberated, figures much in the President's vision of the Europe of tomorrow.

Instead, as he showed during his visit there after the Naples summit, only a month after the D-Day anniversary, Germany is Bill Clinton's notion of America's natural partner in leadership "now and forever," as he called out excitedly to the crowd in Berlin. In fact, the President had even learned enough German to make a more grammatically correct (if rather less memorable) statement in Berlin than John Kennedy.

This enthusiasm for Germany over America's older allies in Europe is not simply a personal foible of the President's. Several members of his Administration—most prominently Robert Reich—have given vent to their admiration for the German model.

Defenders of the President's snubbing of the United States' older allies like to quote the British foreign secretary, Palmerston, who said that states "have no perpetual allies . . . [only] eternal interests." According to this

scheme, America's interest in Europe is best served by teaming up with the most powerful and reliable state there. That is all too true, of course. The question is whether Germany fits the bill.

Germany has changed since Bill Clinton was a boy. It is no longer the booming *Wirtschaftswunder* of the 1960s. Leaving aside all the problems of reunification, the core West German economy today faces serious problems. The recent spate of property and financial scandals, which show the much-vaunted big German banks treating obvious sharks with all the complacency of an Arkansas thrift asked to bail out a friend of the governor's, is just a symptom of a bigger problem.

German business just isn't as competitive as it used to be. Core industries like machine tools and car manufacturing have watched their sales plummet. This downturn is not just owing to the recession. It is a structural crisis: German workers spend less time on the job, are paid more per hour, and increasingly are not the best trained in the world. German companies are moving plants abroad (like BMW to the U.S.) to maximize their competitiveness. Once West Germany was a prime site for inward investment. No longer.

In the U.S. and Britain, these symptoms are familiar, and we understand the trauma of economic dislocation and even of the efforts to reform. The difference is that our societies' national identity and legitimacy have never been built on economic success alone. A host of other shared values and common historical experiences have tied Americans or Brits together into nations which can take bad times without the constitutional structure cracking up. For modern Germans, however, their country's recent history—two dictatorships, two lost wars, and genocide—is best left out of the equation.

German-speaking people share an ancient common culture, to be sure. However, the German experience of political unity after 1871 left deep scars—not only on Germany's victims. Post-Nazi Germans are overwhelmingly uncomfortable with what Americans or Britons would regard as normal expressions of national pride or identity. Even conservatives in Germany are more like readers of *The Nation* than like readers of NATIONAL REVIEW.

That is why, leaving economic questions aside, the Teutonic giant is such a shaky pillar for a restructured alliance. In each post–Cold War crisis,

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from the Gulf to Bosnia, the German government has uttered pious opinions but explained that its post-Hitler constitution forbade it to send German soldiers abroad, even to keep the peace at the UN's behest.

On cue for the President's recent visit to Berlin, the German Supreme Court announced a decision lifting the ban on overseas deployments (which many observers doubted had ever existed in the constitution in the first place). However, when President Clinton began to crow about this development, immediately after walking through the Brandenburg Gate with Helmut Kohl, he was quickly corrected by the Chancellor, who made a rare foray into the English language to insist that there was no question of sending "Germans to the front." The President was reduced to observing, in his best Oxford International Relations M. Phil. style, that indeed economic security was more important these days than military security.

To back up Kohl's deflation of Clinton's optimistic assertion that his Administration had found a new ally in multilateralism, the German Defense Ministry's spokesman rattled off a list of places where German troops could not be deployed: from Bosnia to Rwanda, it was a depressingly complete list of the world's hot spots. Only Haiti was missing, but the Marines should not count on a rendezvous with the *Bundeswehr* at Port-au-Prince.

The Ultimate Deterrent

PRESIDENT Clinton may really believe the academic theories about alternatives to military security. Certainly with regard to Bosnia or nuclear proliferation in North Korea, he seems to have opted for hot air as his ultimate deterrent. But a little reflection suggests that even solitary superpowers find allies useful. However, they must be reliable.

Whatever personal slights the present British Conservative government may have inflicted on President Clinton (and however much the British press digs into his past with a terrier-like persistence frowned on by the *New York Times*), President Clinton ought to recognize that in a crunch the Brits have been found in the trenches alongside the Americans, while the Germans have sent mixed signals from the sidelines.

Even France, cussed and vain though her policy-making elite may be, has proved more willing to stand the heat alongside the U.S.A. than Germany has. France is likely to remain an uncomfortable but not an unreliable partner. But what of Germany?

Germany is a thoroughly post-military society. The recoiling from its Nazi past is intensified by the influx of 16 million East Germans sickened by the militaristic regimentation of their Communist regime. It is difficult to imagine any foreseeable German government deploying its armed forces, let alone in the far-flung places to which even a would-be domestic President like Clinton seems unable to avoid sending GIs. As her economy continues in a state of relative decline compared with East Asian economies and even with the American economy, Germany is likely to turn more inward.

Within Western Europe, we have witnessed the paradox of the new Germany: Chancellor Kohl has thrown his weight around more than his predecessors dared before unification, but only on procedural matters of the EU. Behind the closed doors of the European Union's secretive decision-making bodies, the German delegates have antagonized many of their partners by their brusque approach to joint business. But there is a huge difference between throwing one's weight around over contributions to the EU's extravagant subsidies and putting one's own soldiers in the firing line. Germany is a timid giant with a big unhappy complex on her shoulder.

At that, much of Clinton's policy toward Germany, including his promotion of the idea of Germany taking up a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, seems tc be predicated on Helmut Kohl's remaining in power. Kohl's political fortunes have looked up recently, but his chances of re-election are much weaker than the likelihood of a coalition government without him at its head. Any future German government is unlikely to be so "America-friendly" as Kohl's. Already protectionist pressures are strong in Germany, as in much of the rest of the EU.

Of course, Bill Clinton is not the first U.S. President to promote European unification or Germany as a "partner in leadership" (to use George Bush's term), but he has carried on with the policy after its unintended consequences have become apparent. What U.S. leaders have been unwilling to accept is the hidden agenda of the enthusiasts for European union: in essence it is an anti-American project. Back in the vainglorious days at the start of the EU's mediation in the Yugoslav war (already three years ago) there was a lot of talk among the Euro-elite about how this was a crisis for the Europeans, and America should step aside to see the world's newest superpower in action!

Cold Feet

SO FAR the Euro-enthusiasts have not found a way of liberating themselves from U.S. tutelage, and now a few of them are beginning to get cold feet about cutting their trans-Atlantic links. Russia is far from stable, and even Germany's future role worries them. No one needs to be reminded of the old wisdom that Germany was too big for Europe but too small for the world. It may well be that the Maastricht model of a Euro-superpower is already doomed to stillbirth, but if it did rear its monstrous head, U.S. patrons of European unification might find it far from a comfortable partner. Instead it might want to prove its independence of Uncle Sam by some dramatic disagreement with Washington.

If France, for example, has shown more understanding than Germany of what it means to pay the price of great-power status in today's world, no one should forget that the French elite is deeply suspicious of the Anglo–American free-trade model. Mitterrand may be on his way out, but the short shrift he gave Bill Clinton's desire to discuss more trade liberalization at the G-7 summit in Naples was shared not only by his likely Socialist successor, EU Commission President Jacques Delors, but also by right-wing opponents in France, including James Goldsmith of the anti-Maastricht alliance.

The Anglo-American economic tradition stands out against these trends. Clinton's short-sightedness about the value of trusted allies in a crisis, combined with his anachronistic views about Germany's industrial power,

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make him an outsider to the most successful set of policies in modern history—the Reagan–Thatcher policies. Many worry about having a man with so many Sixties skeletons in his closet as President of the United States. The most dangerous, however, are not his personal sins but the intellectual vices he picked up then. The irony of America's young President is that his mind is filled with ideas long since outdated. Acting on them risks damaging America's interests in Europe, and not just splitting her allies there. □

Sex and the Clinton Administration

ILLEGITIMATE RHETORIC

The President tells teens, 'Just say no.' But his programs say, 'Yes, yes, yes.'

GARY BAUER

THE WORDS "safe, legal, and rare" were still warm on Bill Clinton's lips when, less than 24 hours after taking office, he signed an executive order making abortions easier to obtain. Later he tried to establish public funding of abortion through repeal of the Hyde amendment; promoted abortion overseas through the United Nations Family Planning Association; mandated the provision of abortion on military bases; included abortion in his health-care plan; and brought RU-486, the French abortion pill, to the United States.

The gap between rhetoric and action is equally wide in fiscal policy (remember the middle-class tax cut?) and in foreign affairs, from Haiti to China. But perhaps the President's greatest hypocrisy is in the area of sex education. He says that illegitimate births in the United States are a "crisis." Yet his Administration is killing abstinence programs and enshrining a single clear message for teens: We expect you to be sexually active, so here is a free, taxpayer-funded condom.

In January, Kristine Gebbie, then Clinton's AIDS czarina, announced an $800,000 taxpayer-funded ad campaign designed to promote condom use. In February, she spoke at a New York City AIDS conference for teenagers that featured workshops such as "Teaching About the Wonderful World of Latex" and literature on "fisting" and anal intercourse. All the while, Miss Gebbie paid lip service to abstinence as the best way to avoid contracting HIV; but the programs she backed said otherwise.

Similarly, in the wake of Miss Gebbie's dancing-condom ads, the President himself endorsed abstinence as the best course for young people. Speaking in February at the Kramer Junior High School in Washington, D.C., he told the students to "abstain from drugs, sex, and crime," and he would help them find a brighter future. "The first thing you can do," he said, "is make up your mind you're not going to have a baby 'til you're old enough to take care of it and until you're married."

That's the rhetoric. For reality, follow the money. Buried in the President's recent budget was a little-noticed RIP for Title XX, the Adolescent Family Life Act. Enacted in 1981, Title XX was designed to reduce teen pregnancy. It had three components: services for pregnant teenagers, prevention projects, and research. Why would the Clinton Administration kill a program that sounds like a liberal dream? Because Title XX required parental involvement and mandated that kids be encouraged to delay sexual activity.

"For adolescents who accept the abstinence message, this is fine," said Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala. "But for adolescents who reject such a message and decide to become sexually active, abstinence-only messages provide no hope against the risk of pregnancy and disease."

In fact, abstinence programs can be quite effective. In Cleveland, for example, the 12-year-old National Institute for Responsible Fatherhood has worked with 2,000 young men, most of them already fathers. Of these, 75 per cent have not caused another pregnancy. In Wisconsin, the Kenosha County Health Department has also had impressive results in encouraging sexually active teens to return to an abstinent lifestyle. The Best Friends abstinence program in Washington, D.C., has seen only 1 pregnancy among the nearly 400 girls who have participated during the last seven years. By contrast, in 1990 the out-of-wedlock birth rate for 15-to-19-year-old girls in Washington was 93 per 1,000, or about 37 out of 400.

How to Say No

ABSTINENCE programs work because teenagers are looking for guidance and boundaries. A 1993 Emory University survey asked a thousand sexually active girls what they would most like to learn about sex. Eighty-five per cent said they wanted to know "how to say no without hurting the other person's feelings."

Pat Funderburk Ware, director of the Title XX program in the Bush Administration, says expectations help determine whether such teenagers feel prepared to say no. "Abstinence until marriage was probably never seriously presented as a viable option for these girls," she says. "Someone made the determination that it was an unrealistic and an unacceptable concept for them—perhaps because they were black, poor, and in the inner city."

An effective abstinence program is more than "Just Say No." It teaches basic things like discipline, self-control, delay of gratification, self-respect, and how to handle relationships. Mrs. Ware says a good program "helps young people understand why it is important to delay sex; teaches them the

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skills to resist peer pressure; provides them support from peers, teachers, parents, and the community that will help them follow through on the decision to delay; and finds something positive the young person can say yes to as they say no to sex."

Abstinence programs mean believing in young people, while contraceptive programs mean expecting the worst from them. Abstinence programs require an investment of time and energy, while contraceptives promise a quick technological fix. Yet the Clinton Administration has consistently favored throwing condoms at kids rather than helping them avoid a need for contraceptives.

Forked Tongues

IN RESPONSE to criticism of their defunding of Title XX, Mr. Clinton's aides cranked up the smoke machine. Victor Zonano, a spokesman for HHS, said Secretary Shalala "has made it clear that abstinence is the surest way to prevent HIV transmission and unwanted pregnancy." Clinton's Surgeon General, Dr. Joycelyn Elders, quickly followed up by telling *USA Today* that her "No. 1 message to teens" is "to be abstinent, because if they have a baby there's an 80 per cent likelihood they'll be poor, ignorant, and slaves the rest of their lives."

But at the same time, the money from Title XX, $6.8 million, was reallocated to a new Office of Adolescent Health, which will fund programs that provide "comprehensive health education" and "contraceptive information and services." These services are already provided by the $150-million Title X program (among others), one-third of whose clients are teenagers. Miss Shalala insisted that abstinence programs would still be eligible for funding as "part of a more comprehensive project that includes a broader range of health, education, and social services." "Comprehensive" means condoms.

After eliminating Title XX, President Clinton announced that his welfare-reform package would include a $300-million campaign against teenage pregnancy. But this is not reassuring: large blocks of this money will go toward "abstinence programs" of the kind favored by Miss Gebbie, Miss Shalala, and Dr. Elders.

The Clinton Administration's approach to sex education and teen pregnancy has been articulated mainly by this trio, which enables the President to bastardize his Administration's policies: they're his, but he doesn't have to claim them. Dr. Elders's rather colorful public statements are a good example. Among other things, she has said that "abortion has an important and positive public-health effect" and that the government should provide drug-using prostitutes with Norplant "so they could still use sex if they must to buy their drugs." When *USA Today* asked her about the President's reaction to such remarks, Dr. Elders replied that he "loved it."

In March, Miss Gebbie decried the "double messages" teens are getting from a sex-drenched society. In particular, she asked why women are so often depicted as sex objects despite feminist opposition to sexual exploitation. "It makes you wonder," she said, "what is rhetoric and what is real." With the Clinton Administration, there is no need to wonder. □

A Tale of Two Governors

FIFE'S STRIFE, PETE'S FEAT

California's Pete Wilson may get the shot at national office that Arizona's Fife Symington deserves.

DANIEL D. POLSBY

FIFE SYMINGTON of Arizona has turned out to be one of the country's best governors. When he was elected in 1990, the state's Republican Party was still in paroxysms on account of Evan Mecham, the governor who crusaded against the Martin Luther King holiday and whom the legislature impeached and tossed out of office in 1988. By 1992, Mr. Symington had successfully changed the subject. Republicans took back the state legislature, and the governor busied himself stumping for school vouchers, truth in sentencing, tax cuts, and other conservative staples.

On most of these issues, Mr. Symington has had some success. Although his voucher ideas ran into a political stone wall, he did get half a loaf in school reform. The legislature approved charter-school legislation that simplifies entry into the education market by private operators. A new law provides that public schools will receive report cards each year, which eventually will make transparent each school's progress, or lack of it. Though it is not choice, it is a step in the right direction.

Mr. Symington has also made much of his war on gangs and on crime in general, but much more important has been his war on taxes. Arizona has a projected $190-million budget surplus, a hospitable business climate, and a governor who is an unapologetic disciple of Arthur Laffer. Recently Mr. Symington signed legislation knocking $100 million off the state's projected income-tax receipts and reducing the assessment ratios for Arizona mines and utilities from 30 to 25 per cent. Now he proposes to wage re-election on the blockbuster promise to phase out the state's income tax altogether, which would amount to a tax cut of $1.5 billion. Can this work, or is it mere theatrics, voodoo economics in one state?

In fact, the abolition of the income tax represents a policy that even an unreconstructed Keynesian might embrace. Apart from its intrinsically stimulative tendency, a tax cut of this

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magnitude would undoubtedly appropriate economic growth that might otherwise go to California. In a federal system, states are *supposed* to compete with one another for business and citizens. In practice, much of this competition has been sublimated into tax shifting. Hence, for example, Wyoming taxes the mining of coal, for which electric-utility customers in other states must pay. Similarly, New York and many other tourist destinations tax hotel rooms; outsiders pay. No state has gone further than California, whose "unitary tax" attaches to the profits of companies doing business in the state, even if those profits were earned elsewhere.

Mr. Symington's astute variation on this strategy is to attempt to import the tax base rather than export the burden. The bet is that given a slight nudge, businesses located in tax-happy, regulation-happy California would enthusiastically head east. In fact, many have already done so. Arizona gained 6,000 transplanted California jobs in fiscal 1993 alone. And for the owners of many businesses, zeroing out the income tax would be more than a slight nudge.

Given his record and Arizona's still solidly Republican inclination, Mr. Symington ought to coast to re-election, but apparently he will not. Recent polls have his "negatives" at a troublingly high 30 per cent. He has attracted a strong challenger in the state's September 13 Republican primary, and even if he gains re-nomination, his lukewarm approval ratings foreshadow no walkover in November.

Most of this malaise can be explained by the governor's role as director of Southwest Savings and Loan Association of Phoenix, which went bankrupt in the 1980s. The Resolution Trust Corporation sued Mr. Symington and the other directors for $210 million. The agency alleged that Mr. Symington had used his position on the board improperly, to gain approval for the development of Camelback Esplanade, a large real-estate project on which he eventually made a great deal of money but the S&L lost a great deal more. A grand jury began sniffing around. Mr. Symington denounced the charges as contrivances and lies.

Roman Genn

At the end of May, the RTC settled the lawsuit without obliging Mr. Symington either to admit guilt or to pay any money—a clue, perhaps, that their case was as flimsy as he had all along maintained. But the grand jury is still sniffing, and where grand juries are concerned, anything can happen. So Mr. Symington's star, which ought to be ascending, is on hold until the grand jury rises.

Whatever the eventual result, the S&L charges have probably ruined Fife Symington's national prospects. The ruckus that congressional Republicans have been obliged to make in order to get Whitewater hearings will be sauce for every Republican gander who ever got near a savings and loan. Arizona's governor has gone about as far as he is going to go in politics. This is good news for business but bad news for the Republican governor of the behemoth on Arizona's left border.

Betting Man

ON THE other hand, maybe not. Disaster-prone California's hapless governor, Pete Wilson, may yet turn out to be the luckiest man in the world. In the last month of his life, Richard Nixon conjectured that if only Pete Wilson could get himself re-elected governor in 1994, the Republican presidential nomination would be his to lose in 1996. How crazy would you have had to be, last spring, to bet on anything like that happening? But Mr. Nixon, they say, knew how to bet his cards. And Mr. Wilson's prospects are brightening.

For the first 25 years of his political career, a period that covered two terms in the state Assembly, three as San Diego's mayor, and one-plus term in the U.S. Senate, Mr. Wilson was usually described as bland or monotonous, which he is. He was also routinely described as quietly effective, which within the good-government cadre means having the ability to get things done, whether they ought to be done or not. Republican Party leaders considered him the perfect follow-on for the invisible, ineffable George Deukmejian, who declined to run a third time for governor. Mr. Wilson, a year into his second term in the Senate, accepted the assignment and at length defeated Dianne Feinstein with a quarter-million votes to spare. Then all hell broke loose.

Roman Genn

The hills caught fire; residential Oakland, one of the country's wealthiest and most picturesque neighborhoods, burned to the ground. At about the same time, thanks largely to retrenchment in the defense industry, California's economy caved in. The state lost 600,000 to 700,000 jobs, three-quarters of them in Los Angeles County. For the first time in many years, the unemployment rate in California was running three or four hundred basis points higher than in the rest of the country. Real-estate prices collapsed. Then came the years of drought. In the middle of the drought came the Rodney King riot. In 1993, the hills behind Malibu burned —twice—with devastating mudslides in between. And then the Northridge earthquake hit, removing all doubt that Providence Itself was trying to get California's attention.

Meanwhile, back at the governor's mansion, Mr. Wilson's approval ratings were cratering. As of early 1993,

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only 15 per cent of the state's voters rated his performance as good or excellent, the worst numbers ever recorded for a first-term governor. A preliminary match-up showed him 23 points behind the state treasurer (and eventual Democratic gubernatorial nominee) Kathleen Brown. The governor's negative ratings finally leveled off at a little over 60 per cent. It had the look of a hole too deep to climb out of.

Mr. Wilson brought at least some of this upon himself. True, it was not he who shut down the defense industry. But what little a governor can do to make matters worse, he did. Not long after taking office, he decried a budget deficit of $14 billion, which he agreed to stanch partly with some spending cuts but chiefly with a $7-billion tax increase. The new levies began to bite more or less concurrently with the crumbling of the state's economy. Tax policy on this scale does not "cause" recessions any more than a given carton of cigarettes will "cause" cancer. What it does is erode some of the system's resiliency, deepening the misery and postponing the recovery. In any state, even California, $7 billion is a lot of swag to transfer from the private sector. While Arizona and other neighboring states climbed out of the recession smartly, California's tribulations dragged on. Mr. Wilson ultimately acknowledged that the tax increase was a mistake, but the damage had already been done.

The political fallout from the tax increase was at least as injurious as the economic. Many conservatives, chilly toward the pro-choice and environmentally correct Mr. Wilson to begin with, were incensed by it. It was the last straw when, in 1992, the governor sided with the National Education Association against a school-voucher initiative. Twenty per cent of Orange County Republicans recently told poll takers they would back any Democrat over Mr. Wilson. And Ron K. Unz, a political amateur without Rolodex or résumé, got a third of the votes in the June Republican primary after an abbreviated campaign.

So it ought to be curtains for Pete Wilson, but don't bet on it. Though the past four years have been one calamity after another, they have also been one long photo-op for the never-smiling governor, whom voters have now seen hundreds of times glowering at smoking debris, shuttered buildings, charred slopes, and buckled concrete. The public's erstwhile perception of Mr. Wilson as a nerd seems gradually to have changed. Now he is coming to be seen as he has been photographed: grim, formidable, and—a favorite word to describe him nowadays—"tough." People are remembering that he used to be in the Marine Corps. And tough is a good way to look and talk—in fact, it is the only way—when the subject turns to Mr. Wilson's two favorite themes, crime and illegal immigration.

This re-invention of a self seems to have been more accidental than planned, and it is certainly more cosmetic than real, but what of it? This is California. And besides, Mr. Wilson's opponent, Miss Brown, is something of a marketing vehicle herself. Her main credentials are that she has a perfectly wonderful smile, a highly recognizable name, and a lot of rich Hollywood buddies eager to back her. Her main selling proposition is that she isn't her goofy brother Jerry. Also, as her campaign literature puts it, she longs for "the California that used to be."

The California economy is now beginning to mend. Although real-estate prices continue in the doldrums, investment is inching up. Southern California Edison has been adding customers at a rate of 2,500 per month. The jobs hemorrhage has abated; at one count, 35,000 new jobs have appeared in the state since the first of the year. Mr. Wilson can take some credit. He recently got the legislature to narrow California's law on workers' compensation. He can also boast of simplifying the process by which businesses obtain environmental clearances and permits. But California's business climate is still accounted one of the nation's most hostile—not a great campaign point for the governor. He had better stick with talking tough.

Crime and illegal immigration cost California an arm and a leg, and voters know it. Although it is not obvious what a governor can do about either problem, they are shaping up as the main questions on the table because Mr. Wilson and Miss Brown seem to have very different ways of thinking about them. A pity for Miss Brown.

Controlling immigration is primarily a federal responsibility. But securing the Mexican–American frontier against illegals is physically impossible at any imaginable level of effort so long as people want to cross it. There are perhaps a million illegal immigrants in California. The reason for this influx is that the rewards for influxing can be considerable. Not all of these rewards are dispensed by the state of California. For example, the Constitution provides that babies born in the United States are automatically citizens. Many of our grandparents considered that fact all by itself a sufficient inducement to immigrate. But the welfare state has supplied potential immigrants with a number of more tangible motivations.

For example, children of school age are entitled to a free and appropriate public education whether they are citizens or not. Twelve years ago, in *Plyler* v. *Doe*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that it would be irrational for a state to condition access to public schools upon such pettifogging nuances as whether the recipient was present in the country illegally or legally. Educating illegal-immigrant children has been running Californians a little over $1.5 billion annually.

We Won't Tell

IN THE same vein, Medi-Cal offers prenatal care and obstetrical services to pregnant women regardless of whether they are here legally. Last year California's health department distributed bilingual brochures explaining this benefit and promising what is true under federal law: that patients could receive services, free from any worry that the Immigration and Naturalization Service would be notified. Senator Robert Byrd (D., W.Va.) berated an embarrassed Mr. Wilson with the point that this amounts to a more or less open subversion of federal immigration law. It later turned out that the brochures were printed without Mr. Wilson's knowledge, as a quid pro quo for settling a lawsuit brought by the Legal Services Corporation charging illegal discrimination against aliens.

Like everything else contentious in California, immigration has boiled over onto the ballot, in the form of the SOS ("Save Our State") initiative that voters will decide on this November. SOS would purportedly cut illegal immigrants out of free public education and routine medical care. If passed, it will be an invitation to the Supreme Court to revisit *Plyler*—which in and of itself is not a bad reason to vote yes. Mr.

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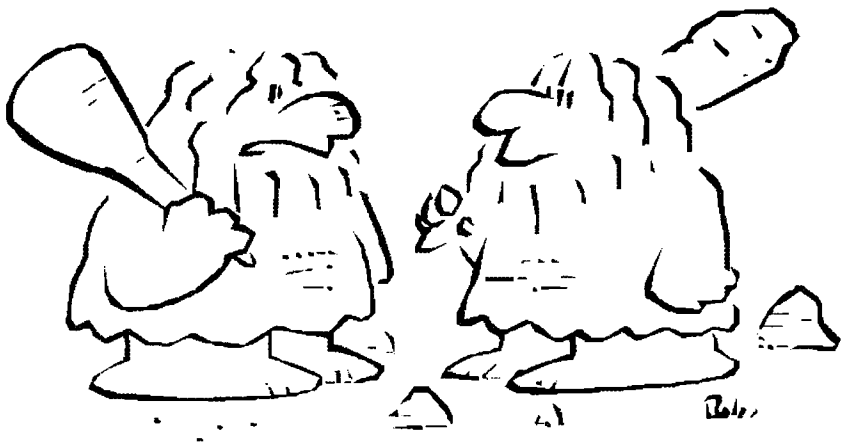
Wilson has not yet endorsed SOS but has been generally favorable toward it. Miss Brown has called it "barbaric."

Crime & Punishment

THE CRIME issue should be at least as important, and here again the candidates seem to differ. Crime, of course, *is* a state's responsibility, but what can be done in the short run to suppress it has already been done. A quick tour of the local penitentiary will illustrate the point that crime is basically a loser's game. The modern welfare state has guaranteed us a plentiful supply of losers by paying generous subsidies for the production of children out of wedlock, by destroying entry-level jobs with ever more onerous employer mandates in various guises, and by making it a matter of democratic principle to preserve a public-financing monopoly for the worst and most feckless educational facilities. Because the supply of potential criminals is functionally unlimited, adjustments to that supply cannot readily be a limiting factor on the amount of current crime.

That is not to say that one should refrain from building more prisons. What else can you do with bad guys once you catch them? But prison-building programs, to the extent that they are meant to diminish the number of criminals in circulation, have been a disappointment. It simply hasn't proved out that one more punk in the slammer means one fewer punk on the street. The street-punk census has been remarkably stable, though the prison census has soared. Does this mean that the general-deterrence hypothesis, with which the discipline of criminology was founded in the work of Bentham and Beccaria two hundred years ago, is erroneous? No. The anomaly is only apparent, at least where economically motivated crimes are concerned.

A clear illustration can be taken from drug crimes. So long as consumer demand for cocaine remains constant (as it has for many years, despite the increasing efforts of law enforcement), removing one vendor from the street will "produce" a replacement just as inexorably as one second baseman's retiring will call forth a new one. More subtly, a similar dynamic applies to burglars and car thieves. How much property gets stolen will depend on the prices that stolen goods will fetch from chop shops and fences. Arrest a thief, and at the margin fewer goods will be stolen; the scarcity of stolen goods will increase, which means that prices should increase; hence the returns to thievery will rise until a new entrant steps forward to restore equilibrium. Straight or crooked, that's how business works.



"I'm tired of hunting and gathering to make a living—let's invent politics."

The conventional response to this problem has been hiring more policemen, which is something like going after a flea infestation with a pair of tweezers. Or one can talk about the death penalty, the ultimate get-tough measure. Mr. Wilson makes much of his support for capital punishment. Miss Brown says she opposes it personally but would carry it out in office as provided by law, whatever that means. So here is a clear distinction between the candidates, but it is largely one of words.

Researchers have never shown that capital punishment is a better general deterrent to crime than life imprisonment. For that matter, they have never demonstrated that life imprisonment is a better deterrent than prison sentences above ten years' duration. That undoubtedly says more about the limitations of empirical research than it does about penal policy. It is certainly plausible that public attitudes opposing or supporting the death penalty are part of what George Will has called the "moral infrastructure" of general deterrence. But the practical side of the death-penalty question should not be sold short either. Capital-punishment skeptics might be surprised by the general-deterrent effects if, in a certain busy week quite soon, California conducted a clearance of its current inventory of condemned prisoners, about 375 murderers. Surely the crime rate would go down at least transiently? Then again, maybe it wouldn't. Even if it didn't, it is hard to see that the world would be much worse off. For one thing, the state would save more than $11 million a year in upkeep charges alone.

But the important point is that this is a mere thought experiment. In the real world, the queue at the gas-chamber door has nothing to do with the policies of the governor and everything to do with the way death-penalty motions are handled in federal courts, something that only congressional action could reach. And, as the recent debates about the Racial Justice Act have shown, the current Congress is far more disposed to snarl than to facilitate the imposition of capital punishment. Mr. Wilson may well support the death penalty, but only two prisoners have been executed on his watch—and one of them literally insisted on being killed. At that rate of imposition, capital punishment is part of the world of talk, not a practical part of the world of crime and punishment.

What is shaping up in California is a war of paper tigers. If the campaign is about who is tough, Miss Brown will lose. And if Pete Wilson can sell tough in California in 1994, we shall have to come to grips with Richard Nixon's last conjecture, a 1996 election that asks the question: Another term with President Clinton, or a term with another President Wilson? Which comeback kid would you rather? Or maybe you'd rather be in Philadelphia. □

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Up from Conservatism

HADLEY ARKES

IN ITS golden years, the University of Chicago used to administer to its wards the most bracing tonic: conservative professors, speaking with wit and authority, saying things that had not been heard by the students anywhere else. The display was all the more arresting because the professors, in one cardinal dimension, were remarkably unprofessor-like: they were anchored in the world, attuned to its ways. But at the same time, their worldliness did not beget cynicism. These professors, who made their students see the world as it was, were also deeply concerned with principles. They understood that there is a moral "up" and "down," that there are right and wrong ways to constitute polities and economies.

These recollections were summoned by a reading of David Frum's new book. Mr. Frum bears no connection to Chicago, but it would be necessary to install again that state of mind, cultivated long ago in Chicago, in order to understand the perspective and the temper that he brings to this work on the condition of conservative politics in America. The book is pervaded by a concern that the party of freedom and moral responsibility must get things decisively right: it must become utterly clear on its ordering principles even if that means separating itself from the electoral interests of the Republican Party. But to get things right, it is necessary once again to see the world as it is. It requires a stringent honesty that must be turned even—and perhaps above all—on one's own friends.

Dead Right, by David Frum (Basic, 256 pp., $23)

Before Mr. Frum transferred his talents to *Forbes*, he worked on the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal* under the redoubtable Robert Bartley. He refers to Mr. Bartley as perhaps the most influential journalist in America; and yet he detaches himself quite forcefully from Bartley's estimate of the Reagan Presidency as "seven fat years." For Mr. Frum, the record of the Reagan years is a record that finally discredits any claim by the Republican Party to be the party that seeks to scale down the powers of the government and enlarge the perimeter of the free economy. In this reading, Ronald Reagan put an amiable face on conservatism mainly by forswearing any attempt to roll back the welfare state. Reagan presided over an expansion of the government in its expenditures, in its deficits, and even in the reach of its legal authority. For one thing, there were constituencies of the party that already had a stake in the welfare state. Ronald Reagan was not going to sign on to any measure that would reduce medical care, or cut back any other benefits, for those veterans who fought on D-Day and won the Second World War. Nor was the party of Bob Dole going to withdraw subsidies from farmers in the Middle West. It is one thing to cut back on the budgets of public universities; but, as Frum points out, it is quite another to deal with the complaints of middle-class parents who see the costs of tuition rising steeply at those public universities.

Roman Genn

To Ronald Reagan, Frum attributes a hefty share of the responsibility for detaching the savings-and-loan industry from the tethers of prudence and responsibility. As Frum notes, only about 7.7 per cent of private mortgages were protected by federal support in 1970, and less than 3 per cent carried any federal guarantee that the mortgage would be paid if the homeowner faltered. But in Frum's reading, the Reagan Administration "could not abide the consequences of applying its free-market principles to residential mortgage lending." Nor could the Administration tell "the old folks of Sun City that from now on it was their responsibility to investigate the soundness of the banks in which they deposited their money." By 1980, more than 18 per cent of private mortgages were backed by the Federal Government, and Frum observes that "when Ronald Reagan moved into his California retirement house—appropriately enough, one paid for by other people—38.2 per cent of all American home mortgages were federally backed. The mortgage risk of almost 40 per cent of American home buyers had been effectively nationalized."

The reader may detect here a certain cattiness toward Mr. Reagan, even a want of generosity. And indeed, there is a dubiety about Ronald Reagan running deep throughout the book, which may give it the standing of a "marker" in our politics. Here, after all, is a book committed earnestly to conservative ends, and yet perhaps the first book of its kind that proclaims openly its doubts about Ronald Reagan and seeks to lower the public estimate of the man. That Reagan might have had something to do with accelerating the demise of the Soviet Union is a point that draws no comment. Nor is Reagan portrayed as a well-meaning stumbler. He is condemned, rather, for a want of seriousness, and for a record that diminishes

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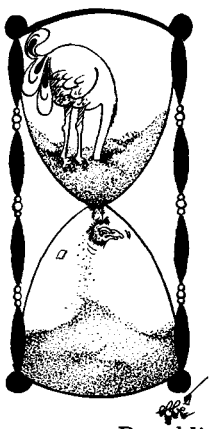
the claim of conservatives to be taken seriously.

And so Mr. Frum, in his savvy frankness, refuses to indulge any of the romantic legends, or the political stories, that conservatives were willing to tell themselves during the Reagan years. He does not credit for a moment the claim that things would have been different if only Ronald Reagan had possessed the "line item" veto. And yet, it would require a fantasy of another kind to suppose that the figures would not have been different if Mr. Reagan had possessed merely those powers that were held by Presidents before 1974, the powers of "impounding," or holding back, expenditures that had been authorized by Congress. Those powers had been exercised even by the likes of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. It is hard to believe that Ronald Reagan would have been any less vigorous in using these levers than the Presidents who had bent their genius to expanding the government.



Reagan may have signed on, in an act of prudence, to loosening restrictions on the S&Ls in the early 1980s, but Frum's former mentor, Robert Bartley, noted that Reagan's regulators were willing to deal with the most egregious cases, like that of the famed Lincoln Savings & Loan. That cash machine, run by Charles Keating, was amply protected by senators such as Dennis DeConcini and John Glenn. As Mr. Bartley observed, the staggering costs to the taxpayers arose "because senators intervened to keep Ronald Reagan's regulators from seizing Lincoln, no doubt chilling other regulatory action as well."

But in his sober, skeptical treatment of Ronald Reagan and his measures, Mr. Frum makes no invidious discriminations. The same dubiety is extended to every other slogan or nostrum in the conservative arsenal, and to every other figure who has drawn a following among conservatives. Many things might be said, for instance, on behalf of "vouchers" and "school choice," but Frum preserves his own doubt that these devices will make any difference in the substance of education. He is even more dubious about Jack Kemp's "enterprise zones" and his highly subsidized schemes for selling public-housing units to their residents. Indeed, in one way or another, Frum manages to touch on the flaws of just about every favorite politician or intellectual among conservatives, including Pat Buchanan, Newt Gingrich, Ed Meese, Irving Kristol, and William Bennett. To Mr. Bennett he attributes a willingness to talk about the social issues—but mainly a willingness to talk about the need to talk about those issues.

But Mr. Frum's most telling and illuminating commentary comes with his critique of the so-called moderate, old-line Republicans such as William Weld of Massachusetts. The façade of limiting government crumbles after a season or two, and is soon replaced by the familiar paternalism of the Republican Brahmins. Mr. Weld, for example, made a decision to separate himself from conservatives on the issues of abortion and gay rights, in the name of protecting personal freedom against the morality imposed by the majority. Frum's best passages come in exposing the vacuity of these claims. To protect people from adverse judgments on their "sexual orientation," or from critical words spoken at work, the law had to bring forth a new apparatus of enforcement. There would be new restrictions on the freedom of landlords and employers in arranging their property, and novel restrictions on the freedom of speech. In other words, to shelter people from the moral judgment of the community required an even sterner imposition of morality through the law. And to protect people in their sexual freedom, "the government had to abridge the ancient common-law rights of everyone else in the community."

Beyond that, Frum explodes the pretension of the "moderates" to resisting the fanaticism of the Christian Right. It should be evident by now to anyone not wearing blinders that evangelicals, and the pro-life movement, have been quite accommodating, even with Republicans such as Kay Bailey Hutchison, who do not share all of their commitments. One does not have to be seized with religious fervor, after all, to object to the distribution of condoms to fifth-graders. In contrast, the people who have been remarkably strident, intolerant, brittle are those so-called moderates who cannot seem to summon even a modicum of sympathy for the concerns of the religious.

Still, having said that—and having defended the Christian conservatives from the bad knock they have been getting—Mr. Frum brings them too within the ample reach of his skepticism. The 1980s might have seen a revival of religious interest, but its penetration seems to have been remarkably shallow. I was surprised myself to discover, on a recent visit to a Christian college, just how many of the students came from disheveled homes. At every turn, there were stories of families deserted, with tales of divorce and estrangement. As Mr. Frum notes, the religious have not been exempt from the forces that have made American life more vulgar and the restraints on freedom so much harder to bear.

AT AN earlier time, conservatives could believe, plausibly, that the moral reflexes of the American people were essentially sound; that if the government receded in its regulations, it would leave intact a decent people, who would direct themselves to decent ends. In his sober realism, Mr. Frum sees that conservatives can no longer count on that reckoning. He concedes, that is, that our social problems will not be dissolved by "enterprise zones" or vouchers, or by a massive growth in the economy powered by cuts in marginal tax rates. Our political problems are, at their core, moral problems. But he is doubtful that Christian conservatives have anything persuasive to say to the bulk of the voters. And now we have a political class that seems to look upon moral questions as matters too inscrutable and unsettling to be talked about in public.

Frum places no hope, then, in moral teaching through the law. His inclination is to scale down the project: he would prefer a political strategy that strikes at the heart of the problem by cutting back the welfare state. The life of freedom entails risks and responsibilities. The welfare state has enfeebled the sense of moral re-

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sponsibility through its misbegotten efforts to shield people from risks. In that respect, the modern state has itself been the engine of "moral hazards." As Mr. Frum puts it, "Risk makes people circumspect. It disciplines them and teaches them self-control." He is also persuaded that "the force driving the social trends that offend conservatives, from family breakup to unassimilated immigration, is the welfare function of modern government." Remove from the universities the massive patronage that has fed them, and universities too may cease to be nurseries for post-modernism and the zany Left.

And yet, why should this end be any more practicable for the next conservative leader than it was for Ronald Reagan? Frum does not claim to have found any formula, or novel line, that would make the argument more palatable to the voters. A conservative leader, blessed with craft as well as wit, would probably find himself moving along the same oblique path as Mr. Reagan, with the intentions of staging a kind of flanking maneuver: not by threatening to dismantle the welfare state, but by compressing its sources of revenue. He would probably bring forth, as Ronald Reagan did, an array of proposals, institutional devices that would seek to constrain spending or taxing: the line-item veto, the impoundment of funds, the requirement of an extraordinary majority for imposing new taxes, and perhaps even the repeal of the graduated income tax. President Reagan did not secure these devices, but anyone whose memory runs back to the days of Robert Taft will have to savor the turnabout Reagan produced in our politics: the Republicans sought to shower benefits on the producing classes by letting people keep more of their own money, while the Democrats donned the green eyeshades and went into high moral dudgeon over "deficits." To make the Democrats campaign against deficits and clamor for new restraints on spending was no minor feat.

Nor have the lessons been lost on the public. Through LBJ's landslide and Nixon's return, through the ascendancy of Ronald Reagan and the lumbering of George Bush, the public seems to have preserved a precise sense of who the Republicans are. Writers may agonize over the coherence and future of the party, but the problem does not appear to be anywhere near as perplexing to the voters. As the Congress divides over the proposals for national health, there has been no mystery to the voters as to which party is most adamantly opposed to "employer mandates" and a system of "nationalized" medicine. And as the voters have cultivated a more vivid sense of the meaning of Clintonism, they have become clearer, in the same measure, about the faction that stands as the alternative to Clintonism.

None of this gets around the problem of the intolerant Republican "moderates" and the serious conflicts over abortion, gay rights, and the character of the party. But it does suggest that there is no ready formula for shrinking the government, without the need to make a moral argument. Even that limited project will require nothing less than the kind of argument set forth in NATIONAL REVIEW a few months ago—and set forth in summoning lines—by Malcolm Wallop ("Can the GOP Take America Back?" Feb. 7). As G. K. Chesterton once remarked, governing oneself is rather like blowing one's nose or writing a love letter: it is something a man ought to do for himself even if he does it badly. We may be afflicted at this moment with politicians who begin to stutter when they stop speaking about taxes and have to start addressing moral questions. But in that event, we will be compelled to engage in a kind of speech therapy—or restore speech to the mute. For as David Frum understands, we will not be able to convert every problem into the question of taxes. The conservatives have helped to make it clear, over the last dozen years, that even the problem of large government is a moral problem, which will require nothing less than a moral argument. And once they have become clear in that way on the question, the one thing the conservatives are not free to do any longer is to change the subject. □

Got a Light?

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY

"THIS BOOK does not aim to praise cigarettes chiefly for their utility," writes Richard Klein,

> but rather for what Théodore de Banville calls their "futility." It is their uselessness that ensures the aesthetic appeal of cigarettes—the sublimely, darkly beautiful pleasure that cigarettes bring to the lives of smokers. It is a pleasure that is democratic, popular, and universal; it is a form of beauty that the world of high as well as popular culture has for more than a century recognized and explicitly celebrated, in prose and poetry, in images both still and moving. So widespread is this understanding of the beauty of cigarettes that this book can seem to argue in favor of taking them seriously, as among the most interesting and significant cultural artifacts produced by modernity.

One has to have considerable courage to write such a book today, in our time of crusading crackpots and universal conformism. No sooner had the big, all-embracing utopia of Communism died in front of us, than myriads of tiny utoplets sprang up in its place, as if to fill the void left in the lives of the utopians. Humanity is overwhelmed; accustomed as we may be to placating our crusaders, we still cannot reconcile all their demands. Lest we be branded an "enemy of the people," we must attempt to be green, blue, and color-blind, all at once. We are expected to deny that there is any difference between the sexes, and yet we are obliged to believe that God Almighty is a woman. Animals' rights have became superior to ours, except in AIDS research. And smoking . . . ah, smoking is the worst crime of them all, unless you smoke marijuana.

Indeed, the current anti-smoking campaign is so universal, so vicious

Cigarettes Are Sublime, by Richard Klein (Duke, 210 pp., $21.95)

Mr. Bukovsky is a professional smoker whose best-known book, To Build a Castle, *is a testimony to the fact that even the KGB failed to force him to give up cigarettes despite 12 years of consistent effort.*

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that one wonders: What kind of secret Politburo is behind it? Clearly, it is well coordinated and well funded, and it must have a hidden agenda as well. After all, despite the smoke-screen concern for our health, we are "consenting adults" and entitled to decide for ourselves.

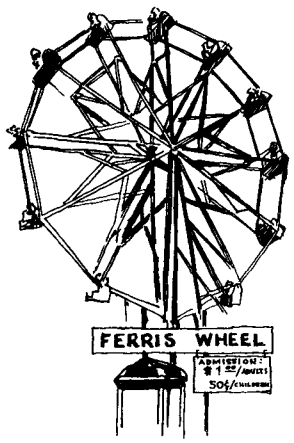
Yet the utopians righteously push us out of one refuge after another. So here we smokers are, a new oppressed and exploited minority. While homosexuals can serve in the army, and women can become priests, we cannot have even a tiny smoking compartment on the publicly subsidized trains we pay for through (among other means) growing "sin" taxes on cigarettes. I sometimes wonder who won the Cold War.

But I am convinced the worst is yet to come. Nor shall we have to wait very long: last year in Britain a man died of a heart attack because his doctor refused to treat him, on the grounds that he was an inveterate smoker who had promised to give up smoking but failed. Did this "doctor" go to jail? Far from it; he was not even reprimanded. Looking boldly into the television camera, he said: "Why should I waste my resources on someone who does not follow my prescription? Smoking as much as he was, he would have died anyway."

What a neat idea. Come to think of it, why should doctors treat homosexuals? They will die of AIDS anyway. Just let anyone who does not observe the latest fashion in diet and exercise die. Medical costs can be cut without any need to install Bill Clinton's health reform.

So, first and foremost, we should commend Richard Klein's bravery, far above and beyond his call of duty as a professor of French at Cornell: some healthist ayatollah might yet issue a *fatwa* against him. For let's make no mistake: it is Cold War II we are living through today, with a new breed of coercive utopians striving to alter our culture, to control our behavior and, ultimately, our thoughts. As Mr. Klein correctly says: "The increase of attacks directed against smoking in the last decades could be seen as the harbinger of the wave of censorship that threatens to engulf America. . . . Since smoking is wordless, it is a form of expression especially vulnerable to being suppressed by censors who hesitate before banning speech."

Apart from being a bad habit—this fact no one denies, least of all smokers themselves—smoking is also a statement of one's philosophy of life, a philosophy upon which our modern culture was based. This was a philosophy of flirting with death, on the one hand—which, by the way, moved us to conquer the skies (what an irony that smoking is now forbidden on airplanes!)—and, on the other hand, a philosophy of fatalism, of a soldier "killing time while waiting for death." A cigarette is like a poem, a love affair, or even life itself—all burning desire and smoke of illusion, leaving us at the end only ashes and a bitter taste in the mouth. But should this predictable end stop us from living, loving, aspiring? What a lie to pretend that anyone ever did not know in advance all the harm smoking can cause. Even in my childhood, some forty years ago, when I tasted my first cigarette, there was a huge billboard across the street: "Smoking is a slow death!"



Sure thing. But someone's intrepid hand had written underneath in chalk: "And we are not in a hurry." Professor Klein is quite right: cigarettes are sublime; they seduce you like a *femme fatale*, all the signs of danger notwithstanding. They are bad for you; that is why they are so good. And the more they are demonized by propaganda, the more seductive they will become. What a stupidity those "warnings" of the surgeon general are! One could not invent better advertising—it makes one's statement even stronger when puffing into the face of our boring society. "Life itself is a progressive disease from which we only recover posthumously; for if health is freedom from disease, then it is only available by dying," writes Mr. Klein. "Living means choosing your poisons." And who is the surgeon general to force his choice upon us? A surgeon's business is to amputate our limbs, to cut out our tumors, and to stitch us up again. This is what he should be concerned with, not being a supreme judge in a century-long philosophical dispute.

Let alone a supreme censor. If he tries to be, he will, as Mr. Klein's book shows, find himself up against a whole host of poets, philosophers, and cultural figures, from Baudelaire and Byron, Mérimée and George Sand, to Sartre and Hemingway.

Like so many writers struggling with censorship before him, Mr. Klein employs subtle irony and taunt rather than a direct attack on his opponents' position. Contrary to what one might think after reading this review, his is not a book of polemics fueled by indignation; rather, it is an ode to the cigarette, as seen through the eyes of the great poets and thinkers, a paean to a culture that is about to be discarded by the modern barbarians. In a sense, Mr. Klein is like a Roman patrician singing hymns to the old temples and sacred groves even as the hordes of Huns are destroying them. In vain does he implore them to think about future backlash:

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In Defense of Civilization!

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> . . . repression . . . often ensures that when the repressed returns, it does so violently, hyperbolically. Whenever what is unhealthy is demonized, it becomes irresistible, with all the seduction of vice and the fiery allure of what ought not to come to light. Censorship inevitably incites the very practice it wishes to inhibit and usually makes it more dangerously compulsive, because illicit, in the bargain. Think of masturbation.

Alas! Huns don't read poetry, and the names of old gods mean nothing to them. Mr. Klein's irony and taunts are lost on our own illiterate latter-day barbarians, who know only the ironclad language of political correctness. □

'Ata Turk!

HERB GREER

FIRST of all the Turks are brutes, right? Oriental. Subhuman, cruel. Remember *Midnight Express*? And those poor Kurds —the Terrible Turks deny them their Human Rights. And of course Turks are priapic—"Oh, those *Turks*!" Nudge nudge, wink wink. As is the way with such clichés, the ferocious and/or super-sexy Turk exists side by side with the "typically" fat, corrupt, entropic pasha wallowing in luxury and bum-boys.

Andrew Wheatcroft's book traces these and other wall-eyed views of the Turks back into the Ottoman culture from which they were distilled by ignorant and sometimes vicious opinion-formers in the West. He begins on a worrying note, when his own introduction teeters toward such a cliché. He claims to know what the real inner attitudes of Ottoman Turks were and asserts that these have persisted "almost unalloyed" since the 1920s, when Kemal Atatürk all but single-handedly forged a modern nation from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottomans, by Andrew Wheatcroft (Viking, 384 pp., $18.99)

Few Westerners are aware of what a change that was. Social and administrative novelties had been imposed more than once under the Ottoman sultans. But what had never happened before 1923 was the severing of the traditional links between Islam and government; Atatürk installed a new parliamentary system resting on secular citizenship in the new Turkey. With this astonishing coup he forcibly set his country on the road to a Western style of democratic government. The new system was further reinforced by discarding the Arabic alphabet, so ill-suited to Turkish, and replacing it with a Roman-based system, while abolishing the mandarin Ottoman idiom, incomprehensible to most Turks, in favor of a flexible and demotic form of Turkish. These changes began a new Turkish relationship to politics and authority, in which government and citizen inhabited, so to speak, the same world. This was not true before, and it is inconceivable that such a transition could have taken place without affecting the inner lives of a people. Neither Mr. Wheatcroft nor any other Western expert I know of has made any serious effort to analyze and gauge the present depth of that effect. (But see Bernard Lewis's *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, which makes clear the break between the old non-national imperial Ottoman tradition and the new secular nationalism in Turkey today, expressed in Atatürk's motto *Ne mutlu Türküm diyene*, "How happy is he who calls himself a Turk"—as opposed to an Ottoman. In Ottoman times the epithet "Turk" was almost entirely a Western conceit.)

The "persistent" Ottoman attitude which Mr. Wheatcroft calls "supple rigidity" is no more than a habit of bowing to authority externally while remaining internally resistant. There is, however, nothing peculiarly Ottoman or Turkish about this, as Mr. Wheatcroft would know if he had toured, say, the American South after the Civil War, or explored the social fabric of any number of Iron Curtain countries during the Cold War. His solecism is the more interesting because the central theme of *The Ottomans* is the persistence of a crudely racist and almost entirely obsolete Western image of Turkey and the Turks.

Mr. Wheatcroft begins with the Western shock at Sultan Mehmed II's capture of Constantinople in 1453 on "the world's last day," followed by the steady advance of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, halted at last in 1529 when the forces of Suleiman I were defeated at Vienna. This was not, however, the end of the Ottoman presence west of the Bosporus. The Ottomans were to try again to take Vienna in 1683 (though again without success) and the empire's grip on a large part of the Balkans continued into the twentieth century, leaving seeds of anti-Turkish hatred which are sprouting now in the genocidal butchery of Muslims by Serb fascists in Bosnia.

Mr. Wheatcroft sketches brilliantly the growth, over the centuries, of a stereotypical Western view of "the Turk," and its apparent ossification about 150 years ago. The story has its amusing side, particularly in the list of faults that were supposed by arrogant Westerners to be especially Turkish.

The Ottoman practice of buying military rank was held in contempt by the British at a time when their own commissions could be and were purchased. The Turkish treatment of women was widely sneered at in countries such as Britain, where women were denied the right to their own property until the nineteenth century, and refused the vote until the twentieth century.

As an example of Turkish cruelty, execution by strangling or even impalement (the latter mostly carried out on dead bodies) hardly matched the English method of hanging a traitor, cutting him down for disembowelment while still alive, and then chopping him into quarters. The famous massacres of Armenians, still remembered, were in fact carried out mostly by their traditional enemies—the Kurds, for whom so many tears are shed today. At that time there was no publicity and no tears for the many Turks, including women and children, who were being slaughtered in the Morea by merciless Greeks.

But Mr. Wheatcroft's book is more than an extended *tu quoque* philippic

Mr. Greer is an author and playwright who has traveled widely in Turkey.

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against moralistic hypocrites in the West. While tracing the decline of the Ottomans, he notes that one of their salient characteristics was an incurious refusal to know and understand the West. Do our own attitudes toward contemporary Turkey bear a startling resemblance to that refusal? Not to sound too Turkophilic, but the possibility is worth a thought. □

A Shock of Recognition

JEFFREY HART

EDMUND WILSON famously collected in his book *The Shock of Recognition* the reactions of major writers when they came unexpectedly upon a masterpiece. He reminded us of what it would be like, if one had never heard of the book, to read *Moby Dick* for the first time. The greatest shock of recognition ever recorded, so far as I know, was that of the 20-year-old John Keats when he first "looked into" George Chapman's Elizabethan translation of Homer's *Odyssey*: "Then felt I like some watcher of the skies / When a new planet swims into his ken." Like Cortez (it was really Balboa, but Cortez sounds better) viewing the Pacific Ocean, Keats feels that he stands "Silent upon a peak in Darien."

The Great Fires: Poems, 1982–1992, by Jack Gilbert (Knopf, 90 pp., $20)

I had never heard of the poet Jack Gilbert, even though I keep up with these things. That I know so little about him is clearly by design. He has published, now, three slim volumes, and he prefers to let his poetry speak for itself, without any external self-promotion. Don't look for Jack Gilbert on the Donahue show. I gather from the poems themselves that he grew up in Pittsburgh and has lived all over the world. The seacoast and hill towns of Italy are vivid here, but so is Asia, and so is, well, everywhere. He lives in San Francisco. His wife, Michiko, to whom this latest book of poems is dedicated, is a major presence in the poems themselves; but she has died.

The poems are splendidly accessible even at first reading. This modernist is not handing us *Finnegans Wake* or the *Cantos*. But, for those who are well-informed and can listen attentively, it is obvious that Mr. Gilbert writes, layer upon layer, with a vast deposit of literature in his mind.

His assimilation of literature, Western and Eastern, is so complete that he can use it with astonishing lucidity and seeming ease. He is a great love poet, but also a sort of ascetic whose asceticism sharpens his senses almost to the point where pleasure and pain coincide:

> *You hear yourself walking on the snow.*
> *You hear the absence of the birds.*
> *A stillness so complete, you hear*
> *the whispering inside of you.*
>
> *Is she more apparent because she is not*
> *any more forever? Is her whiteness more white*
> *because she was the color of honey?*

That's Michiko Nogami (1946–1982), the Beatrice of this *Divine Comedy*. Gilbert knows all about the Michiko–Beatrice parallels. A major poem here is entitled "Dante Dancing."

In a remarkable poem entitled "Finding Something" (finding *what*? *Poetry*, I suppose), Mr. Gilbert uses the modernist technique of stylistic pastiche. He begins with a pseudo-haiku: "I say the moon is horses in the tempered dark, / Because horse is the closest I can get to it." (On that second line, re-read the first three lines of Eliot's "Prufrock.") Then there follows a cliché Chinese scene. But all of this isn't working. Not working at all. Why? Western empirical fact comes crashing into the poem, crashing through the haiku horses and the Chinese print: "Michiko is dying in the house behind me."

In notably direct terms he describes her final days; she is too weak to attend to her own basic needs. They are living in very reduced circum-

Mr. Hart, an NR *senior editor, is the author most recently of* Acts of Recovery.

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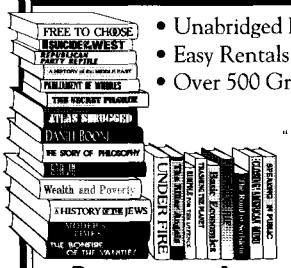

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stances in Italy. (Why such reduced circumstances? For his *poetry*, undoubtedly.) Robert Frost is very much present in this poem, Frost with his poetry of "fact." So is Eliot in Gilbert's concluding retreat from fact, which is temporary and ironic.

The arches of her feet are like voices
of children calling in the groves of lemon trees

Yes, the arches of her feet are healthy, though she is not. Is that a friendly poke at Eliot's *Four Quartets*? You bet it is. The hidden laughter of children had a numinous quality for Eliot—cf., from "Burnt Norton":

Go, said the bird, for the leaves were full of children,
Hidden excitedly, containing laughter . . .

Okay, says Jack Gilbert, but within this particular moment the poetry of fact asserts itself: "Michiko is dying in the house behind me." Or,

To tell the truth, Storyville was brutal. The parlors
of even the fancy whorehouses crawling with roaches
and silverfish.

Yet beyond the muck and death, there is exquisite beauty. The Devil himself

. . . allows us to eat roast goat
on the mountain above Parakia. Let us stumble
for the first time, unprepared, onto the buildings
of Palladio in moonlight. Maybe he is not
good at his job. I believe he loves us against
his will. Because of the women and how the men
struggle to hear inside them.

I know of nothing in Western or any other literature like Mr. Gilbert's great love poem "Alone." Gilbert's international sensibility somehow manages here to make one entertain, if only for a moment, the Japanese teaching of reincarnation. Hold onto your hat. The whole 19-line structure works up to the last five words: "the way it always did."

I never thought Michiko would come back
after she died. But if she did, I knew
it would be as a lady in a long white dress.
It is strange that she has returned as somebody's dalmatian. I meet
the man walking her on a leash almost every week. He says good morning
and I stoop down to calm her. He said
once that she was never like that with
other people. Sometimes she is tethered
on their lawn when I go by. If nobody
is around I sit on the grass. When she
finally quiets, she puts her head in my lap
and we watch each other's eyes as I whisper
in her soft ears. She cares nothing about
the mystery. She likes it best when I touch her head and tell her small
things about my days and our friends.
That makes her happy, the way it always did.

The way it always did. If poetry is the charging of language with fresh power, Mr. Gilbert has managed to lift those five words cleanly out of banality, even to use banality against itself in the service of a fresh music. Robert Frost, one of his masters, could hit the ball out of the park time after time, as in his "Pauper Witch of Grafton." The whole poem works and works toward Frost's last line, his home run: "I might have, but it doesn't seem as if." This "flat" line stands your hair on end. Jack Gilbert, too, can swing for the fences.

The severity of Mr. Gilbert's artistic discipline places him as a late modernist. As Keats said just before his death, at age 25, "I will be among the English poets." Gilbert, at age seventy, belongs among Joyce, Eliot, Pound, Hemingway, Yeats. We have a great poet on our hands, gentlemen—and who, in this day and age, would ever have dreamed of such a thing? And I, for myself, am silent upon a peak in Darien. □

FILM

More Is Less

JOHN SIMON

WHILE we were groaning through *Tombstone*, last year's Wyatt Earp entry, we were bolstered by the hope that this year's model, ***Wyatt Earp***, would prove better. Sorry. Lawrence Kasdan's version is, at 190 minutes, certainly longer, but not better. These periodic shootouts at the O.K. Corral are yielding ever-diminishing returns, as the Western becomes a more and more endangered species, though one we may not be prepared to shed a flood of tears over.

We need not be all that politically correct to wonder what is left for the Western. Decimation of Indians with superior weaponry no longer sits well with us; the macho Westerner's treatment of the little frontierswoman is likewise suspect. The noble savage, whom the revisionist Western managed to mythicize for a while, is wearing a bit thin, what with those dangling scalps on a brave's belt looking less ornamental than ever. Varmints, to be sure, are still varmints, and the heroic marshal's or sheriff's bringing them to rough or righteous justice may still quicken the aficionado's pulse. And there is still the odd new angle to be worked, as in Bruce Beresford's magnificent *Black Robe*. Survival is still possible, especially when someone of Daniel Day Lewis's stature chooses to be the laster than last Mohican.

In *Wyatt Earp*, too, there are some revelations for those of us who are not committed Earpetologists, and perhaps even for them. We find out about Earp's first wife, a proud woman with the exotic name of Urilla, whom our hero lost in short order to typhoid fever while nursing her with selfless bravery to the end. After her death, the despondent Earp plummeted into a life of crime, and was

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

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saved from the gallows only by the timely intervention of his powerful father, who years before had stopped the boy Wyatt from running off to fight in the Civil War like his elder brothers. From his father, Wyatt learns not to trust anyone but blood, yet we see him later relying a good deal on the unrelated Doc Holliday; from his grandfather, he learns jurisprudence, though we never see him putting it to much use.

The Wyatt Earp we meet here is a man of extraordinary courage, which is how he first becomes deputy marshal; and extraordinary luck, which is why (as we learn from a title card at the end) he was never once grazed by a bullet during his long career in harm's way. And this, incidentally, is one of the great mysteries of the Earp saga, and others like it: how, given the endless opportunities for sniping down a lawman like Earp, did he manage to survive? Always wearing black against the ocher and terracotta backgrounds of the West, he ought to have been an easy target for one of the many varmints he tangled with. Indeed, his youngest brother, Morgan, is killed by a sniper shooting in through a window, and another brother, Virgil, is taken down in a lonely spot at night, though he survives with the loss of one arm.

But Wyatt has a charmed life, and since Kevin Costner, who plays him, has an almost equally charmed one, we needn't worry about his physical safety. But what about his moral welfare? He lives with a former barroom hostess whom he has no intention of wedding, though his brothers are all solidly married—one of them, to be sure, to a prostitute who continues to ply her trade with her husband's consent. The movie does tell more than usual about the private lives of the Earp clan, starting with the early years in Iowa, but none of this is particularly stimulating. Mr. Kasdan, as director, seems unable to latch on to juicy bits of action; or, as co-scenarist, to juicy turns of phrase. And James Newton Howard's music is about as stereotypical as movie music gets in these composerless days. As for the bad guys, they remain an amorphous hydra-headed monster of villainy lacking individual characteristics.

Another curiosity about the script by Kasdan and Dan Gordon is the sign in all these Western towns—Dodge City, Tombstone—forbidding people to carry guns within the city limits. Indeed, we are shown the odd fellow being stripped of his weapon; but the rest of the time, we keep seeing all kinds of people bearing guns and using them without much interference from the law. The film's worst failure, however, is the inability to make clear at crucial points just what is going on. There are ambushes in which it is impossible to tell who is doing what to whom. There is a reckoning at a railway station where everything remains opaque: who is shooting at whom, who is on the train and who is off, is the train moving or standing, what was the Earp strategy, and how was it executed? This scene (like one or two others) is a textbook example of how not to make a movie, and might, if studied, have prevented the makers of a film such as *Blown Away* from making asses of themselves.

Even in the areas where the movie's strengths are concentrated, these do not go far enough. Take the early home life of Wyatt and his family. As the paterfamilias, the trusty Gene Hackman does his customary good work, but he is not given a chance for transcendence—becoming an idiosyncratic yet idiomatic, down-to-earth yet larger-than-life character. And the gifted Betty Buckley, cannily cast as his wife, gets nothing to do. Wyatt's eldest brother's sanctioning of his wife's continuing her bar-hostess activities (i.e., turning tricks) is not exploited for its dramatic possibilities; neither is the talent of JoBeth Williams, who plays that tricky role. And in a film this long, time can't be the excuse.

Again, Kasdan shows guts in portraying an Indian in a highly antipathetic light. But this move, too, is deprived of any telling, incisive detail. Most interesting is the character of Josie Marcus, a fetching creature whom one of Wyatt's associates brings to the frontier as his woman, but who ends up as Wyatt's lover and, later, wife. Half Jewish, she is referred to as the "Hebe whore," but no further light is shed on the unexplored question of anti-Semitism in the Old West. It was, however, inspired casting to give the role to Joanna Going, a beautiful and talented young actress whom I take pride in having extolled years ago at her first stage appear-

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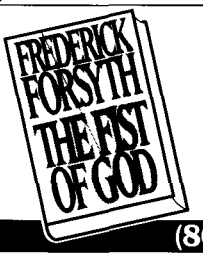

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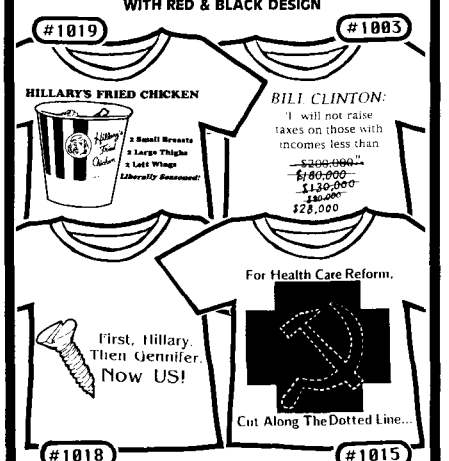

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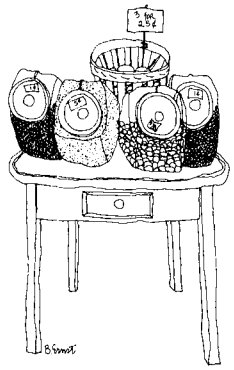
ance. But her agent—or somebody—was shockingly unable or unwilling to secure appropriate billing for what is in effect the finely acted female lead.

Lawrence Kasdan has often made stabs at daring that have fallen just short. (Granted, it is easy for me to speak: I was never up against the movieland moguls.) Look at the handling of the two principals. Kevin Costner is a perfectly adequate Earp, but, save during his criminal phase, he remains standard issue; a way should have been found to extend some sort of quirky pungency to his good-guy years. Doc Holliday, the tubercular ex-dentist and ex-varmint who becomes Earp's staunchest ally, is played by one of our most interesting actors, Dennis Quaid. But because Doc has TB, he is made to explode in coughing fits that might start an earthquake scare in California and would, in a gunfight, give even a lesser varmint a lethal advantage over him. Moreover, Mr. Kasdan directs him into such a stereotype of the Southerner that it takes the debased state of our film criticism to hail this as a banner performance; Val Kilmer's Doc in *Tombstone* was distinctly superior. Despite a few bright spots, *Wyatt Earp* is not so much an adult as an adulterated Western: sometimes conventional, sometimes confused, and, in its length, numbing.



■ If there is such a thing as an archetypal summer movie, it is one that provides sustained, undemanding entertainment and blends seamlessly with the air conditioning. Such a one, though hardly a prime specimen, is ***I Love Trouble***. It seems to be a tribute to the William Powell–Myrna Loy pictures wherein the sophisticated team of Nick and Nora Charles solved crimes amid witty spousal sparring. Here, however, it is the director and the scriptwriter, Charles Shyer and Nancy Meyers, who are married, and though there is a Nick (Nolte) in the cast, the whole thing is only a shadow of, say, *Shadow of the Thin Man*. We have Mr. Nolte, the brilliant but jaded columnist at one Chicago paper, and Julia Roberts, the plucky cub reporter at the other one, on the trail of a corrupt chemical corporation that may have a formula for enhancing milk production but is speedily thinning the numbers of those involved with it.

The film begins with a suspicious train wreck being covered by both Mr. Nolte and Miss Roberts; no sooner do they meet than the taunts and quips start flying. They're not the wittiest taunts and quips, but Miss Roberts and Mr. Nolte field them well: it's like a tennis game with worn-down balls played by expert players. The plot is serviceable. The two journalists start out as cutthroat rivals for the scoop and progress to being uneasy partners who double-cross each other whenever they can. Then, as people around them start dropping, and they themselves hurtle from one mortal peril to the next, they become genuine allies. Finally, after reiterated protestations of mutual sexual indifference and repeated lapses into its opposite, they end up drolly united. Old hat? Surely, but if the hat fits . . .

Mr. Shyer and Miss Meyers commit a number of sins against logic, but they know how to concoct creepy or scary situations and keep the audience involved, if not exactly riveted. The stars come to their rescue. Nick Nolte, who used to be a blunt instrument, has evolved a sprightly looseness and a saving twinkle; he now seems as agile mentally as he is flexible physically. Julia Roberts proves yet again that she is not only one of the prettiest of women (the minor flaws merely humanizing her beauty), but also a genuine actress. And Mr. Nolte's breezy blondness and Miss Roberts's suave darkness complement each other handily.

There are well-chosen supporting actors, action that races to all kinds of photogenic or odd locations, dark hints of shady dealings in Washington, a neat score by David Newman, and a few authentic jolts. You may not love *I Love Trouble*, but you'll have no trouble sailing through it on an otherwise somnolent summer evening. □

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Hidden Order

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

IN HIS wise and thought-provoking book *Poetics of Music*, Igor Stravinsky makes this statement: "I maintain that there is more substance and true invention in [Verdi's] aria *'La donna è mobile,'* for example . . . than in the rhetoric and vociferation of [Wagner's] *Ring*." And he quotes Baudelaire, "Rhetorics and prosodies are not arbitrarily invented tyrannies . . . and never have [they] kept originality from fully manifesting itself. The contrary, that is to say, that they have aided the flowering of originality, would be infinitely more true."

In an appraisal of Stravinsky's work, those two quotations explain much. For in *Le Sacre du Printemps* and his subsequent compositions, he was always guided by the need for the clarity which order, discipline, and prosody demand of music. Here was a composer who, pushing his way through modernism and postmodernism, arrived at a synthesis of his own, which included elements of both classicism and the baroque plus the meters and voices of his own times. It makes us wonder what those who fumed and cursed at his work could have been thinking when they tried to dismiss him as wild or incoherent. It would, in fact, have been more accurate to say that in his composing, Stravinsky sometimes seemed closer to the not-yet-invented computer than to dreams of musical revolution. The sense of form—which is different from form itself—pervades everything he wrote, and gives it the vitality and freedom it possesses.

How true this is becomes apparent in new recordings by Simon Rattle

Mr. Toledano's classic essay collection Frontiers of Jazz *has just been re-issued by Pelican Publishing Company in Gretna, Louisiana. He is at work editing his correspondence with Whittaker Chambers.*

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and the City of Birmingham Orchestra of *Le Sacre, L'Oiseau de Feu*, and *Petrushka*—works of different levels of intensity—and of *Pulcinella* (coupled with Kurt Weill's *Seven Deadly Sins*), all issued by EMI. Mr. Rattle and the orchestra he in effect created play with a drive and excitement that was somewhat lacking in Stravinsky's own more studious traversals of works.

But the real news will be read in a recording of *The Rake's Progress*, an opera that holds even those like myself, whose mind begins to wander when the *recitativo* usurps the disc. The libretto is by W. H. Auden, who imposed his plot on the drawings of Hogarth, and whose own sense of form is wedded to that of the composer.

When *Rake* premiered in Washington in the late 1950s, I was one of a small group that met with Auden and listened as he discussed the problems of writing words which are to be set to music or music which must be set to words. His awe at having been selected by Stravinsky to write the words on which the opera would rest was both surprising and touching. But he was most impressed by the dazzling affirmation, and the lyricism, with which Stravinsky captured the spirit and idiom of Hogarth's times, without writing in Purcellian phrases. The substance and true invention, and the prosody, were in his hand. In this recording, issued by EMI, Stravinsky conducted the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and the Sadler's Wells Opera Chorus more powerfully than he had in his performances of his orchestral work.

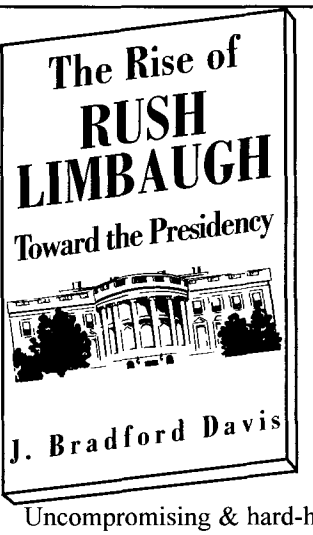
■ It is interesting that a little more than forty years ago, the music of Claudio Monteverdi, who like Stravinsky introduced a new era in music, was being summarily brushed aside as "archaic" and "rigid" by so perceptive a critic as Virgil Thomson. Yet Monteverdi represented one of those great leaps—or perhaps an *entrechat six*—which mark the history of music. He achieved what was almost a fusion of the old polyphony with the richer harmonies then flowering in Italy. Later critics would describe him as the "Aeschylus of music"—the father of the opera that found its apotheosis in Verdi as Aeschylus sired the Greek drama that culminated in Euripides. What can almost be called a Monteverdi revival has been brought to life by the musicologists and musicians who, studying the old scores and learning how to play properly the instruments contemporaneous with "early" music, brought back its true sounds and values. (If we may rummage among different artistic genres, Monteverdi can be found with Michelangelo, both facing their art from a tower beyond tragedy.)

Monteverdi's first opera, *Orfeo*, was the beginning of an operatic tradition which carried through to Verdi and beyond. We now have the *Orfeo* in a loving and lovely recording, based on a careful editing of the somewhat garbled score as published in 1615. Nigel Roberts sings the title role with the London Baroque and the London Cornett & Sackbutt Ensemble, directed by Theresa Caudle (Angel/EMI). In a religious mode is Monteverdi's *Vespro della Beata Vergine*, issued fairly recently by L'Oiseau Lyre in a moving performance by the New London Consort, led by Philip Picket. Another current release is the *Selva Morale e Spirituale* (Sony) performed by the Cappella Ducale and the Musica Fiata Köln, under Roland Wilson. The *Orfeo*, one of the greatest works of the early baroque period, is a *must*, as is the *Vespro*.

■ Turning back through the ages, there is the *Codex Las Huelgas*, a collection of thirteenth-century music compiled at the Cistercian monastery with the encouragement of Alfonso the Wise. In King Alfonso's time the monastery at Las Huelgas became a center for the merging of the three great strains that made up the culture of Spain—with Jewish musicians and scholars joining the Islamic *Mudejares* and the Cistercian monks—and the *Codex* was one of its great musical achievements. The Las Huelgas Ensemble, under Paul van Nevel, has selected 13 of the compositions in the *Codex* for Sony, most of them celebrating the Marian cult of the times, though all proclaiming the message: *Divinum ministerium semper declaratur*. In the days of courtly love, Mary was both a religious and a secular symbol, and even today you can hear the peasant of the Andaluz singing, *"A la Ma-Ma-Ma, a la re-re-re, a la Ma're mia, la virgen María."*

■ In juxtaposition, a retrospective four-CD collection of *Lieder* and operatic performances by Victoria de Los Angeles, and a video cassette of *Maria Callas: Life & Art*—both from Angel/EMI. Victoria de Los Angeles was no Lucrezia Bori, but her singing had something of the quality of Bori; and though her voice lacked the power of some of her contemporaries, she sang with great artistry and sensitivity. It is a pity that this album does not include her beautiful renditions of Spanish folk music, though it represents her at her best in more formal settings.

The cassette of Miss Callas points up her shortcomings: sentimentality, an overblown delivery, and a tendency to sharp in the higher registers. She was a throwback to the old days of bravura singers who led bravura lives; she had a magnificent instrument which she never fully disciplined and a way of flinging herself



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into roles to capture the cheers and adulation of many. Perhaps now we will have a similar retrospective of the truly great Renata Tebaldi with, we pray, the "Willow Song" and "Ave Maria" from Verdi's *Otello*. □

MANNERS IN LOS ANGELES

School's Out

NEAL B. FREEMAN

IT NEVER rains in California, as the beach poet says, so I thought to bring along my umbrella. Call it New England conservative meets postmodernist Los Angeles.

My daughter the actress has just graduated from the University of Southern California. Now the word "University" is not one I usually slide in there right next to "Southern California." Where I come from a university is at least two hundred years old, covered with mortar-fed ivy, and dominated by a sociology department from Hell. It's a place of high learning and higher pretension, a place where action is no substitute for words, a place where a boy feels no unseemly pressure to grow to be a man. A proper university, Eastern and effete, is a wondrous thing: dodgers of drafts can become leaders of men, they tell me.

The folks here at USC, in the heart of the country's second largest city, call for different strokes. The graduates, more than seven thousand strong, are led onto the lawn by the Trojan Marching Band, a precision, marching, tune-carrying band. (Those adjectives are meant to convey a sense of awe. Where I come from, the college band appears to be re-enacting Washington's withdrawal from Valley Forge.) And the mascot! While my people settle for a neutered puppy who urinates on the players' shoes, USC boasts the Man of Troy—breastplate shining, tunic fluttering, bareback astride a splendid white steed. Play that Trojan fight song again and I'll take on those sumbitches from UCLA.

But these differences are merely biological, as the young William Buckley once said of the differences between Beame and Lindsay. The real difference is in the academic ceremony. Back home, our custom is to award honorary degrees to shrinks who have unlocked troves of repressed memory, minority writers who have shifted paradigms, and recently retired pols, exhausted from shoveling grants to the politically well represented. Out here, at the epicenter of earthquakes and entertainment factories, they cut right to the chase. The first honorary degree goes to Ella Fitzgerald, the second to George Lucas, the third to Steven Spielberg. And that's it. No Pontiac dealers, no lieutenant governors, no pigeons from Japan. Just world-class artists who have earned our affection and our gratitude. Seems like the way to do it.

My daughter the actress steps forward to receive her degree, and pandemonium strikes Row 27, Section C. Yes, our family is out in force, for this is our last child and we are doing it right. Spago for dinner, overnight at Checkers, private tour of the Nixon Library, a spritz of Hollywood hobnobbing. We are celebrating not one, but two great events this day. My daughter is, manifestly, the best and brightest of her sparkling class (but, I suppose it should be noted, only marginally more gorgeous than the 3,419 other blondes on campus).

But there's another rite of passage here as well. My daughter's parents are ratcheting up one demographic notch, from the group marked "bill paying" to those marked "bill paid." We are graduating, too. And the sense of possibility is all around us.

Back a generation, in the Sixties, I sat down with a financial planner. My purpose was to find out what I would need to provide for my growing family. He studied the figures, punched away at his calculator, and said with memorable simplicity: "It's going to take all you're going to have." He was about right. For the next twenty years, those words served as an organizing principle in our lives.

But he was wrong about something else. He predicted with the force of experience that once we were past fifty our thoughts would turn inexorably to leisure activities, slowing down, planning for retirement. Most clichés are overpoweringly true. (I fought for years before yielding to the Big One: when you have lots of small children, you should buy a house in the suburbs and get a station wagon and a dog.) I can report to you on the basis of firsthand survey research that there is no truth whatsoever to this middle-age factoid. What I find is quite the opposite. Most of my coevals are beginning to reconnect, to look for ways to leverage their skills and their assets. They are growing more tolerant of risk, more inclined to build than to earn. They are a dangerous band, these men with their bills paid. School's out. □

Mr. Freeman is chairman of the Blackwell Corporation, a television production and distribution company based in Arlington, Virginia.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Liberty or Equality, by Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn (Christendom Press, Front Royal, Virginia; 395 pp., $14.95)

I HAVE always thought of Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn as a radio station, WEKL, beaming its odd and unmistakable signal from the heart of the Dual Monarchy. In the new preface to *Liberty and Equality*, first published in 1952, he admits that he has changed his mind on two important issues over the years, coming to see the free market as a necessity and Martin Luther as something other than a villain. The rest of his message has been remarkably stable, and in many cases prescient. He was onto the French Revolution long before Simon Schama. His remarks on the incompleteness of Thomism and the need for theologians to take account of human subjectivity anticipate John Paul II. He also did not have to live through the last three years to know that Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History* would be premature. With exactly one thousand and one footnotes.

—RICHARD BROOKHISER

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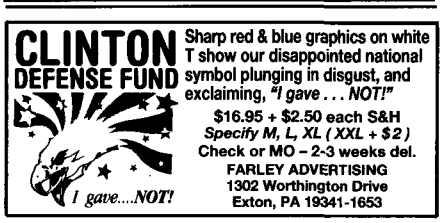
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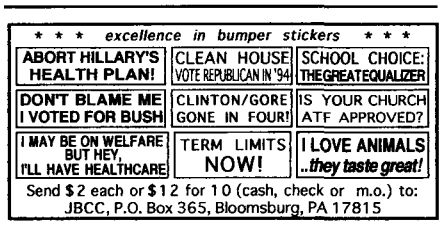
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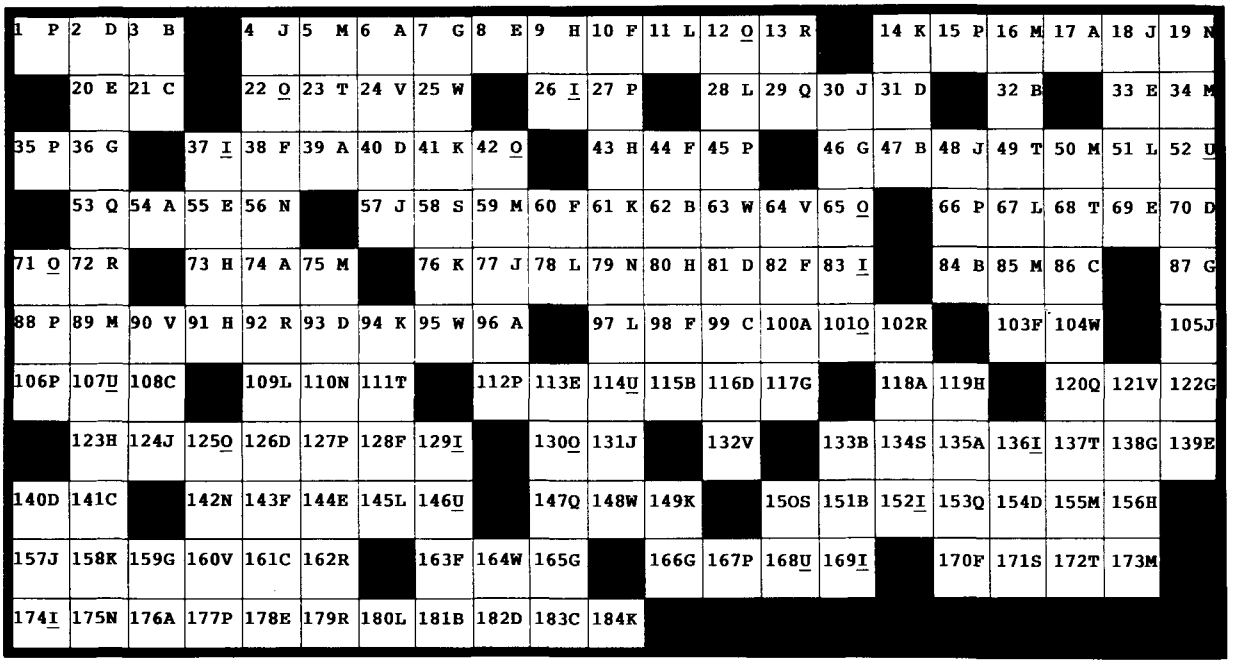
TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

A. Long-distance church employee — 176 118 100 17 54 39 74 6 135 96

B. Orchard inhabitant (2 words) — 32 133 115 62 181 84 151 47 3

C. Shortcomings — 141 86 21 161 183 108 99

D. Like the GOP, right now — 140 116 154 40 2 70 182 31 81 93 126

E. Ingredients for hash — 178 113 33 55 20 139 144 69 8

F. Death-row employee, occasionally — 98 143 38 163 82 10 103 128 170 44 60

G. Conclusions drawn — 138 165 166 122 46 117 159 87 36 7

H. Pertaining to seamanship — 119 73 9 156 91 43 123 80

I. Ptolemaic reference — 152 37 26 136 83 174 169 129

J. Sir Walter Scott's Scottish residence — 30 124 57 18 105 48 131 77 4 157

K. Pay her by the fifth of each month — 41 94 76 149 14 158 61 184

L. Like some gardens — 78 67 28 145 51 11 180 109 97

M. A certain punch — 34 173 59 155 75 85 50 89 16 5

N. Korean War landing spot — 79 110 142 56 175 19

O. What the godly strive for — 71 130 101 22 12 42 125 65

P. Chance — 106 167 177 112 35 127 27 1 88 45 66 15

Q. Melts — 120 29 147 53 153

R. A certain Bowl — 92 162 179 102 13 72

S. Slangy negative — 171 58 150 134

T. Sheriff's aide — 23 137 49 68 172 111

U. Florida PGA site — 52 114 146 107 168

V. Taken aback — 132 160 121 24 64 90

W. Aches, emotionally — 25 63 164 95 148 104

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. PAT BUCHANAN: *A Struggle Is On:* "What's the Christian-bashing all about? Simple. A struggle for the soul of America is under way, a struggle to determine whose views, values and beliefs . . . will serve as the basis of law. Who will determine what is right and wrong in America."

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The Bishops' Abortion Stand

NEW YORK, JULY 15

The declaration of the Catholic bishops on the matter of abortion and the health bill is at once heartening and distracting. Heartening because the bishops have a duty to give moral counsel most especially on matters of life and death, and of course abortion is such a matter.

There is this unwelcome aspect to their intercession, which prompts passing along the views of a distinguished theologian who prefers anonymity here, but who makes the point that it is a monstrous evasion to identify the pro-life position as distinctively Catholic.

Where in Scripture or in the Magisterium is abortion outlawed? What is outlawed is the taking of human life. It is the position of the Church that it is not established that the fetus is other than human life, and for so long as this is the presumption, the law against killing is invoked.

My friend calls attention to the work of a Cambridge philosopher, Peter Singer. His book is called *Practical Ethics*. Professor Singer argues that a human being is not taxonomically that until he is "expressive of personhood." If we correctly read Mr. Singer, he is telling his readers that only when conscious expressiveness truly distinguishes a person is it correct to think of him as a human being—in America, someone entitled to the protections of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments.

Well, when does that happen? Mr. Singer opines that it is somewhere between age five and age seven.

My theologian observes that arguments utterly compelling can certainly be made about the infant child's disqualification for rights that reasonably inure to children at a later age, when they can reason and (as Professor Singer suggests) have developed a personality that is distinctive. Catholic theology, my friend points out, prohibits the taking of human life but without going so far as to postulate that human life begins at any given moment. Rather, the Church declines to rule out the possibility that the fetus is "human" and in such matters, where there is doubt, it is necessary not to run any risk of killing.

The current quarrel, of course, isn't about abortion, it is about the defensible reach of the democratic consensus. Congressperson Pat Schroeder takes the position that since inevitably taxes will be used for this or that purpose displeasing to a minority, the only way to get on with government in a democratic society is to acknowledge majoritarian authority. On television, one advocate of federal funding of abortions observed that, after all, under Jewish law the eating of pork is sacrilegious, but this does not affect the subsidies Washington sends out to farmers, including hog raisers.

The particular point is surely a diversion, if only because Jewish law forbids Jews from eating pork, but is indifferent to its consumption by non-Jews. There is no Catholic lobby to declare the Feast of the Assumption a national holiday. But the preservation of human life is the primary obligation of government. To save a single life justifies the use of a battalion of police and, in recorded situations, naval and air fleets. So that to finance an abortion from money some of which traces to citizens who believe that abortion is the taking of life, is to impinge past the tolerable line that distinguishes secular and moral authority. We live in the City of Man, but that city, vast though its authority is, has none over the City of God. No act of Congress can force an American to worship any idol he chooses not to worship. To finance the worship of a false god from public funds authorizes, indeed obliges, the citizen to take sanctuary against the City of Man. It is a pity that the bishops conjoined their absolute opposition to the abortion aspect of the proposed health law with an endorsement of universal coverage. The terrible temptation to particularize one's concern for human welfare dulls the edge of true moral authority. The churchman who proclaims that universal health care is an extension of God's will vitiates his thunder that federally funded abortion is an intolerable violation of conscience. Legislators who vote against universal health care are voting not for ill health, but for other means of effecting good health. But on the principal point in question the bishops are doing their duty in asking Congress to respect the rights of those Americans who shrink from complicity in what they deem the taking of innocent life. □

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Yes, Immigration Reform

NEW YORK, JULY 12

Our immigration laws loom as a public issue, and there is, understandably, confusion about just where conservatives stand. More carefully said, where conservatives *should* stand.

The subject is delicate in the same way that figures on school achievement tests tend to frighten. Such scholars as Arthur Jensen and Charles Murray have suffered from retailing figures that document differences in general achievement tests among blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and whites. The fear is less that the documentation of such differences is going to harm those who are on the lower end of the graph than that the mere ventilation of the point is going to promote "racism." It's one thing, e.g., to say that 8-year-old black males need more intensive training in math than 8-year-old Chinese males, quite another to say that the established differential warrants consigning the one group to second-class citizenship.

To take the position, as more and more responsible people are doing, that our immigration laws need strengthening is an umbrella for some who are closet xenophobes. There is no doubt that there are many Americans whose position on immigrants amounts to a desire to maintain the dominant ethnic stock, which is white European. But there is a line on that question approachable by civilized thinkers. It is unexceptionable to assert that it would be easier to acculturate to

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American mores and folkways one million Englishmen than one million Zulus—to quote, however roughly, the example given a few years ago by Pat Buchanan. If, e.g., one arrives at Ellis Island already understanding Christian postulates, a lot that the immigrant would otherwise need to learn by exposure to a Judaeo-Christian culture is already learned. And—obviously—if one arrives already speaking and writing English, the travail of learning a new language is leaped over.

It is the consensus among thoughtful students of the current problem (they include writers such as Peter Brimelow of *Forbes*/NATIONAL REVIEW, and politicians such as Pete Wilson of California) that the legal-immigration quota is too high, that illegal immigration is too high, that cultural accommodations are overindulgent, and that judicial affirmations are here and there licentious.

Entirely defensible proposals call for:

1. Reducing the legal-immigration quota for a dozen years or more until the existing pool is assimilated.

2. Cracking down on illegal immigration beyond the measures already taken. This means more effective repatriation, a closer guard on frontiers, and unlicensing welfare benefits for illegals.

3. A drive against bilingual, let alone trilingual, education. The melting-pot brew is all but poisoned if the candidate for assimilation is not required to adjust to a common language.

There is no way to deprive the opportunistic mother who skirts over the border a week before her child is due from giving birth to a U.S. citizen. Under current laws, the mother can, on Monday, abort a Mexican fetus that on Tuesday would be a U.S. citizen. The Fourteenth Amendment reads in part, "All persons born . . . in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States." To lay so much as a finger on the Fourteenth Amendment—to amend the clause to read, "All persons born . . . in the United States to parents themselves citizens are citizens of the United States . . ."—is on the order of editing Mt. Sinai, or so the ACLU-ites believe.

The proposals here listed are not nativist in character; they do not encourage the notion that only white Europeans can enter the melting pot and emerge as assimilated Americans. And they do not take the position that the population is correctly frozen at the present level. Political pressures are especially high in California, where dogged unemployment, Hispanic inundation, and an exorbitant welfare overhead press the issue of immigration control. What happens there may suggest appropriate federal legislation. But the distinctions between nativist ethnocentrism, and intelligent regulation and reform, should survive protests from those who, when all is said and done, really see no reason for national frontiers. □

Up from Witchcraft

NEW YORK, JULY 8

It is hard to believe that the whole of justice-minded America stood by breathlessly wondering whether the judge in Los Angeles would actually throw out as admissible evidence the bloodied glove apparently belonging to the person who killed Nicole Simpson and her visitor. Commentary the night before by Fourth Amendment cultists crowed over what they anticipated as a victory. A victory for what, exactly?

"It is as simple as this," lawyer William Kunstler announced on the Larry King program in words to this effect. "Either you believe in the Fourth Amendment or you do not believe in the Fourth Amendment." Well, there are those who both believe in the Fourth Amendment and believe that a bloodied glove discarded near the murder site is licitly used as evidence against an accused. It is odd how inattentively commentators referred to the Fourth Amendment, which guarantees against "*unreasonable* searches and seizures." The operative word surely is "unreasonable," and while the detectives who spotted the glove might be reproached for not routinely calling a judge to get a warrant to search, this would be on the order of upbraiding a combat soldier for forgetting to shine his shoes. To suggest they were violating a constitutional right is voodoo constitutionalism. When William Kunstler takes such a position he should appear on television with warpaint on his face and a ring through his nose designating him as a tribal believer in Fourth Amendment witchcraft.

One might quote from a former Chief Justice of California. Roger Traynor wrote in 1955 (*People* v. *Cahan*): "The rules of evidence are designed to enable the court to reach the truth and, in criminal cases, to secure a fair trial to those accused of crime. Evidence obtained by an illegal search and seizure is ordinarily just as true and reliable as evidence lawfully obtained. The court needs all reliable evidence material to the issue before it: the guilt or innocence of the accused. How such evidence is obtained is immaterial to that issue. It should not be excluded unless strong considerations of public policy demand it."

What happened after 1955 is of course the evolution of the exclusionary rule. One observer of American judicial practice after the Warren Court decisions remarked, "Only a system with limitless patience with irrationality could tolerate the fact that where there has been one wrong, the defendant's, he will be punished, but where there have been two wrongs—the defendant's and the [police] officer's—both will go free."

The utter confusion engendered by some of the Warren Court rulings is nicely portrayed in *Coolidge* v. *New Hampshire* (1971). Get this: The police, suspecting Coolidge of a brutal murder, went to interrogate his wife. Outside the house sat a car answering the description of the murderer's car. The police opened the door to take a look. They pulled out evidence of Coolidge's guilt. Everyone conceded, as they'd have done in the O. J. Simpson case, that if a magistrate had been there, he'd have issued a warrant to search the car.

Well, Coolidge was convicted. But then citing as inadmissible the evidence taken from the car, the higher Court reversed. The plurality opinion of Justice Potter Stewart referred to the constitutional provision on the subject as an "uncertain mandate." The Warren Court had overruled itself 27 times in its own decisions on search and seizure. In *Coolidge*, a dissenting opinion by Justice Byron White criticized the plurality opinion not merely as "unexplained," but as "inexplicable." Justice Stewart described Justice White's opinion, in turn, as "nonsense." Separate opinions by Justices Hugo Black and John Marshall Harlan disagreed with the fundamental rationale of the plurality opinion, Justice Harlan noting that the law on search and seizure needed an "overhauling."

It is into that degree of confusion that the defense lawyers sought to sink Judge Kennedy-Powell. She resisted by using everyday language based on common experience, common reflexes. The notion that the two detectives were storm-trooping their way into the private residence of O. J. Simpson is insanely inappropriate under the circumstances. The planted axiom of the defense is that any search is "unreasonable" if a warrant hasn't been issued. To give such sacramental meaning to a magistrate's warrant is, once again, to engage in legal sophistry. Anyone who thinks O. J. Simpson is not getting a fair hearing is out of this world. □

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Clear Itself

INCREASINGLY, letters to the editor and calls to talk radio are kicking off with: "If this were a sane country . . ." It isn't, of course. People deprived of rational thought always go bonkers.

Our deprivation continues apace. Recently in an electronics store at the mall, I was one of a crowd of shoppers watching a bank of television sets all tuned to the same channel. The news came on and a man-in-the-street interview began. Suddenly, eerily, there were two dozen images of the same earnest citizen saying in unison with himself: "We can't balance the budget on the back of the *Titanic*."

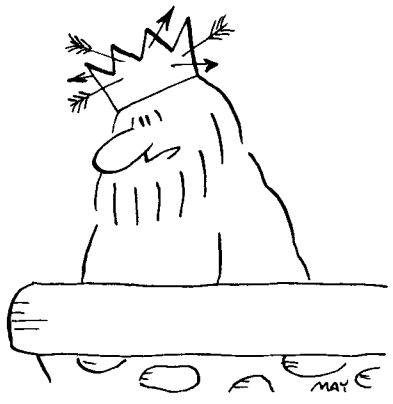
I broke up, but no one else reacted except to give me a dirty look. Our sense of the absurd, that great ballast against neuroticism, is gone. Our civic life is so riddled with banalities and clichés that their precise arrangement no longer matters; we can scoop them up and dump them together like the contents of a spilled handbag. By now "the backs of the poor" sounds almost the same as "the deck chairs on the *Titanic*," so—hey!—it's close enough.

The logical fallacy of *petitio principii* has become our way of life. Confronted by ravines of contradiction, we step over them like so many puddles without stopping to ask the obvious questions. If, as countless elegies to Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis claimed, "she taught us how to behave with taste," how come it didn't take? If "she taught us how to grieve with dignity," why is everyone crying on television?

If genetics is the hot new science with all the answers, why is it racist/classist/elitist to say, "The apple never falls far from the tree"? If a role model disgraces himself, why do we absolve him because we can't afford to lose him as a role model? If "mental illness is no longer a stigma," why do politicians think they can destroy their rivals by digging up proof that they once saw a psychiatrist?

It's getting harder and harder to follow an American discussion. We used to chide worryworts with: "Suppose one thing, suppose another, suppose a jackass was your brother?" Now, however, supposition is the handmaiden of political correctness. I often run into this because of my penchant for voicing unthinkable opinions. "I'm sick of women," I will say, and my opponent retorts, "Suppose you substituted *blacks* for *women* in that sentence?" It goes on. "Bugger the spotted owls." Suppose you substituted *Jews* for *owls*? "Brand criminals on the forehead." Suppose you substituted *gays* for *criminals*? This is not sensitivity but rhetorical tumult.

It's no wonder that the stores are filled with clear cola, clear beer, clear dishwashing liquid, clear deodorant. The clear craze reminds us that there once was a time when ideas were "as clear as a bell," good people were "as transparent as glass," and our heads were on so straight that we could "see right through" a charlatan. Now the only thing we have that's clear is clear itself, so take a sip or a squirt and forget our mental chaos.



"Thank you for your input."

America is starting to look a lot like the Middle Ages, when morbid fears and nervous prostration took up a large chunk of everyone's time. Where medieval man saw stigmata we see skin cancer. They were invaded by incubi, we are invaded by aliens. They carved gargoyles with chilling reality, we computerize dinosaurs with Virtual Reality. They dreaded plague, we dread the face-eating virus. They had food tasters, we have the Food and Drug Administration. They imagined their wells were poisoned, we imagine everything is poisoned.

Medieval eclipses were underexplained and ours are overexplained, but the resultant mood of foreboding is the same. And while our commitment to diversity obviates the hunchbacked gypsies that reduced Cob and Perkin to jelly, the lawsuits growing out of the Americans with Disabilities Act produce just as many nightmares.

THEN THERE is leadership. We assume that medieval man was emotionally secure despite the uncertainties of daily life because he had godlike rulers called the Lionheart, the Bold, and the Hammer. They, however, were the exceptions. More often than not, Cob and Perkin could trace their worst seizures to the very foot of the throne, for the most unavoidable source of medieval mental strain was, by charming coincidence, the same as ours: the Pious, the Fat, and the Mad.

Bill Clinton entered office to hosannas of "He speaks in complete sentences!" He doesn't now. One moment he is red with rage, pounding the podium and yelling about stolen bathrobes and jumping into tanks. The next he is glassily detached and blankly ethereal, his voice taking on the meandering gauziness of a Debussy tone poem as he calls the dollar's drop "puzzling" and sighs over an economy that is performing "in a funny way."

I would not be surprised if he became the first sitting President to crack up. What better way to acquire the national constituency he so desperately wants? All he has to do is pull his old trick of leading where everybody else is already going.

—FLORENCE KING

St. Martin's will publish The Florence King Reader, *an anthology, early next year.*

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